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Air Defense Staff Chief Views Open Skies Issue

PM2106132390 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 19 Jun 90 First Edition p 3

[Interview with Colonel General of Aviation N.M. Maltsev, chief of the Air Defense Forces Main Staff, by correspondent Colonel A. Yurkin; place and date of interview not stated; first two paragraphs are editorial introduction: "Toward Open Skies"]

[Text] An international conference on the "open skies" problem has concluded its work in Budapest. Representatives of 23 countries belonging to the Warsaw Pact or NATO participated in it. At the same time, the USSR Supreme Soviet ratified a special protocol which supplements the Convention on International Civil Aviation signed in Chicago in 1944 and then adopted by the International Civil Aviation Organization as its statutes.

Our correspondent asked Colonel General of Aviation N.M. Maltsev, chief of the Air Defense Forces Main Staff, to comment on the results of the conference's work and the USSR Supreme Soviet's decision.

[Yurkin] Igor Mikhaylovich, KRASNAYA ZVEZDA has written about the "open skies" idea. Shouldn't we find out about this in more detail? Who was its creator? How does it coordinate with the practice of international relations?

[Maltsev] The "open skies" system envisages unarmed aircraft making flights over the participating countries' territories on a voluntary and mutual basis with the aim of supervising military activity. That is the technical side of the question.

On a political level, the idea of "open skies" is intended to be an efficient means of strengthening confidence and eliminating possible suspicions and worries regarding the state and activity of the armed forces of the countries that agree to open up their airspace on a treaty basis.

The idea is not a new one; it was first proposed back in the postwar years. However, because of the military and political relations between the USSR and the United States at that time, it was not supported or developed. The possibility of returning to this idea has now emerged in connection with the changed international situation. The USSR, the United States, and Canada as well as other Warsaw Pact and NATO countries have started work on its practical implementation. An international conference on the "open skies" system was held in Ottawa in February.

After all, side by side with the political aspects, the military-strategic and military-economic sides of the problem must be taken into consideration in order to exclude any possibility of damaging a country's defense capability.

Specialist groups have been formed at the Foreign Ministry and the USSR Armed Forces General Staff, which are involved in working on questions that arise, predicting the possible consequences of the decisions adopted.

[Yurkin] Unrestricted flights do not rule out the possibility of conflict situations. Instead of the people who made the decision to "open" the skies, will it not be servicemen from the Armed Forces and the Air Defense Forces who will bear the responsibility for the flights?

[Maltsev] The "open skies" treaty must envisage all possible cases, details, and procedures connected with the flights of the inspection aircraft which would fully eliminate the possibility of conflict situations arising. The USSR-U.S. government treaty on preventing dangerous military activity, which came into force in January of this year, serves as an example. It determines the actions of both countries' air defense forces on duty to prevent incidents such as flights by our military aircraft and U.S. military aircraft in immediate proximity to the USSR and U.S. airspace border, as well as forced or unintentional flights into it.

Evidently, the actions of the Air Defense Forces within the "open skies" system must also be clearly defined. Should any conflicts arise, they must be examined by specially created international military commissions, and this is already widely practiced within the framework of existing treaties. At the same time, we understand that additional tasks are arising alongside the tasks laid upon our troops by the Law on the USSR State Border—involving the supervision of inspection aircraft flights.

[Yurkin] Were all the problems resolved in Budapest?

[Maltsev] We were hoping that our work would be successfully concluded, but it became apparent in the course of the talks that the sides have different views on individual problems, for example on aircraft and onboard equipment. These and other questions are at the moment stopping us from setting a final date for the signing of the treaty. A great deal of work still faces us.

[Yurkin] And what is your attitude to the USSR Supreme Soviet's ratification of the special protocol supplementing the Convention on International Civil Aviation?

[Maltsev] The Chicago Convention lays down the basic laws for air transportation and determines the principles of cooperation between states in the given sphere. One of the principles is flight safety. The countries that signed the convention have pledged that they will refrain from using weapons or opening fire on civilian aircraft that violate the border. They commit themselves not to use them for military or other illegal ends and to eliminate situations whereby such aircraft could enter foreign airspace....

[Yurkin] Will the number of violations not rise?

[Maltsev] The ratification of the protocol will doubtless bring new concerns. However, we must not forget that

the above-mentioned document specifies that any aircraft that violates the border is obliged to carry out instructions and land on the indicated airfield immediately or to carry out other instructions with the aim of ending the airspace violation. In that situation, the state whose sovereignty has been violated has the right to resort to any measures in accordance with international law.

Future of NATO, Warsaw Pact Discussed

PM2106110290 Moscow MOSCOW NEWS in English No 23, 17-24 Jun 90 p 13

[Article by Peter Gladkov: "The End of the Warsaw Treaty? Can the USSR Cooperate With NATO?"]

[Text] The withdrawal of Hungary from the Warsaw Treaty Organization (WTO) is likely to be followed soon by that of Czechoslovakia and East Germany.

How will this affect Europe and its current security structures? How will this affect the Soviet Union? The USSR seems obvious of this development, as if in a stupor. This failure to react could leave us behind the times. Behind international developments, just as we have been behind the times politically at home.

The Warsaw Treaty was originally conceived as a communist outpost in Europe, under the strict control of the USSR. NATO was established somewhat earlier with the opposite aim; to contain communism, under the powerful control of a different "big brother" overseas. This classic bipolar confrontation shaped the world's political system in the postwar period.

True, the system was imperfect and unsafe, however stable. With the dropping of one member of the European security equation today, too many "unknowns" become involved, further complicating the solution of the equation. These "unknowns" are: yesterday's Eastern Europe, today's Soviet union, and tomorrow's united Germany.

The term "Balkanization" is hackneyed, but it is exactly what's threatening yesterday's Eastern Europe if those countries remain outside the structures capable of maintaining a certain discipline (something which the USSR did, ruling the WTO with its iron hand) over poorer countries competing for outside economic aid and wanting to realize their reborn sense of national awareness (and to solve their internal problems) at the expense of their neighbours.

The Soviet Union, another "unknown", is shopping for a new image for itself in the European and world arenas. It can no longer play its role of superpower and guarantor of stability. If anything, with its critical internal conflicts, its economy in a "free fall" and its nationalities raging, the Soviet Union is perhaps the main potential destabilizing factor in Europe.

The spectre of a united Germany haunted its neighbours for years. Today Europeans dread the rise of an independent and neutral Germany. Europe is afraid that a united Germany will, if left to its old ways (the search for its identity which began in 1971 and resulted in two world wars). [sentence as published]

The European security system must be able to guarantee peace and stability on the continent, irrespective of any changes within individual countries.

There are two alternatives: centralized system or a decentralized one.

The decentralized approach envisages a network of regional security systems: one in Southern Europe (Bulgaria, the Yugoslavian Republics now aspiring national independence, and possibly Greece); another in Central Europe (Hungary, Czechoslovakia and Austria), and so on. Many other combinations are possible.

But this model has a fatal flaw: it doesn't envisage the merger of these subsystems within a single European security system.

Thus the old stand-off between two formidable rivals could turn into a series of squabbles, like those among familes stuffed into one communal flat.

The centralized approach envisages a Pan-European security system based on the existing structures. If the Warsaw Treaty falls apart, NATO will be the only adequate structure of its kind left. But it must be a different NATO, a demilitirized one, more focussed on the political aspect.

We may insist that we reject a united Germany as a member of NATO, but the reality is such that this is going to happen willy-nilly. And this is necessarily a bad thing for us. Given the changes in the Soviet Union, the breakdown of the Warsaw Treaty, NATO simply loses its purpose as a spearhead against the East. Instead, another purpose comes to the fore: containment of Germany. Germany's Western partners in NATO have no reason to worry so long as Germany remains within their system.

As for the Soviet Union and NATO, their relations are very specific even today. The Soviet Union will remain a superpower no matter what happens and thus a key player in the European arena. Any talk about NATO being a threat to the Soviet Union can't be serious: there

are no reasons—economical, political or ideological—for it.

The desire of both sides to find a new solution to the issue of security in this new Europe will inevitably raise the question of relations between NATO and the USSR. The solution of this issue will spell the end of NATO, in the Hegelian sense, and the beginning of a new Pan-European security system.

Minister's Views on European Reform Reported

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For Yugoslav coverage of comments made by Deputy Minister for Foreign Affairs Vladimir Petrovskiy concerning a united Germany's role in NATO, and the overall reform process in Europe, please see the Yugoslavia sections of the 19 and 21 June East Europe DAILY REPORT.

United States & Canada

U.S. Palestinian Decision 'Counter' to Realities

LD2106200290 Moscow TASS in English 1759 GMT 21 June 90

[By TASS news analyst Grigoriy Vasiliyev]

[Text] Moscow June 21 TASS—President Bush has announced his decision to suspend official contacts between U.S. representatives and the Palestine Liberation Organization [PLO].

The U.S.-Palestinian dialogue was held over the past 18 months in Tunis, the site of the PLO headquarters.

The attempt to land Arab commandos on the Israeli coast near Tel Aviv on May 30 was used as a pretext for "suspending" the dialogue, although PLO leader Yasir 'Arafat immediately stated the PLO did not take part in the event.

The U.S. Administration's decision was assessed by Palestinian and the Arab world as a provocative action aimed at undermining the peacemaking process in the Middle East and isolating the PLO and its leadership. The decision must have been taken under the pressure of the pro-Israeli lobby.

The decision was warmly welcomed in Tel Aviv. The Israeli prime minister immediately demanded that the suspension of the U.S.- Palestinian dialogue be made "permanent". He said the suspension of the dialogue "opened up a new chapter in the U.S. approach to Middle East problems".

In fact, this is a new manifestation of Washington's anti-Palestinian and pro-Israeli policy, rather than a "new chapter". This cannot be concealed by periodic propaganda campaigns (?about) "controversy", "different opinions" and "tense" U.S.-Israeli relations.

Washington's decision runs counter to existing political realities. The PLO is a recognised leader of the Palestinian fight for national self-determination and the creation of their own independent state.

Events in the Middle East, long one of the tenser regions in the world, show convincingly that without the PLO's participation in the Middle East settlement, it is impossible to establish a secure and just peace with due account of all parties involved in the conflict.

The restoration of U.S.-PLO dialogue could help reach this aim.

Cheney's Armed Forces Cuts Plan Viewed

PM2206082190 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 21 Jun 90 Second Edition p 6

[TASS report: "R. Cheney's Plan"]

[Text] Washington, 20 Jun—U.S. Secretary of Defense Richard Cheney submitted to Congress Tuesday [19 June] general proposals for a possible 25-percent cut in the U.S. Armed Forces over the next five years.

Under the plan, details of which were announced by the secretary at a Pentagon press conference, this aim could be achieved by disbanding six regular Army and Marines divisions and four reserve divisions, reducing the U.S. Navy's warships from 566 to 455, and disbanding 11 tactical air wings. As a result of the decommissioning of obsolete B-52 bombers, the Pentagon will also be able to disband four strategic aviation squadrons, and it will be possible to cut naval aviation correspondingly by reducing the number of aircraft carriers from 14 to 12.

In all, R. Cheney stated, implementation of these proposals would make it possible to reduce the number of servicemen currently on active service by 442,000 (or 21 percent), and the number of National Guard units and other reserve components of the U.S. Armed Forces by 260,000. The total number of U.S. Department of Defense civil servants could be cut by 145,000.

As for strategic missile cuts, R. Cheney noted that these would take place in accordance with the conditions of a future Soviet-U.S. agreement on strategic offensive weapons. At the same time, he stressed that his plan does not affect the current programs for modernizing U.S. strategic nuclear forces and does not envisage any cutback in appropriations for the "strategic defense initiative."

*Fate of U.S. Embassy in Moscow Discussed

90P50033 Moscow TRUD in Russian 15 Jun 90 p 1

[Article by I. Belov: "To Tear Down Is Not To Build?"]

[Text] It was no accident that I put a question mark in the headline which establishes, it would seem, an everyday truth. A TASS report from Washington confirms, however, that there is an exception to every rule. Here is one.

The American Congress is currently discussing the fate of the unfinished U.S. Embassy building in Moscow.

We recall that the U.S. Administration claims that during the construction of the embassy's administrative building, listening devices were installed by the Soviets, which supposedly makes the building on Krasnaya

Presnya unfit for use. The Soviet Union not only rejected these fanatasies, but came forth with counteraccusations. Two years ago, at a press conference in Washington, our diplomats demonstrated a number of "bugs" removed from the walls of the new USSR Embassy building on Wisconsin Avenue. So far the Americans have not provided similar evidence.

So, is it necessary to tear down the building in Moscow? The American senators think that such a gesture is not in keeping with the improved status of Soviet-American relations. As a result, the senators unanimously refused the administration's request for the allocation of $270 million to raze the uncompleted embassy and build a new one in its place.

China

China, Taiwan Relations No Longer One-Sided

OW2206071990 Moscow International Service in Mandarin 0100 GMT 17 Jun 90

["Excerpts" of article by (Rukin), deputy of the Moscow City Soviet, on his visit to Taiwan; article published in NOVOYE VREMYA—date not given]

[Text] For a long time, we did not have access to information about this island. In a rapidly changing world today, what is the situation on the island? Is it, as previously reported by newspapers, the U.S. imperialists' unsinkable aircraft carrier ruled by a puppet dictatorship? Or, is it, as Taipei has persistently clamored over the past four decades, a free island and part of the free world?

Taiwan today is, first and foremost, a place of economic prosperity, experiencing a difficult period of transformation from one-party dictatorship to democracy. Since the early 1950's, its economy has grown continuously at a rate of 8.8 percent and its export growth rate at 22 percent annually. The living standard on the island is one of the highest in Asia.

In recent years, there has been an obvious contradiction between the fast-paced economic development and the outdated totalitarian political system. In the mid-1980's, the Kuomintang leadership recognized the contradiction and began to effect political reform, lifting martial law in 1987.

During a meeting with Professor (Cai Zonghan) of Danjiang [Tamkang] University, an expert on Soviet Affairs, he told me that there are many common points between Soviet reform and Taiwan's democratization and that studying Soviet and Eastern European experiences will be good for Taiwan. It is precisely because of this that Taiwan should closely watch the situation in the USSR and should stress studying the Russian language. Danjiang University in Taibei has long had a Soviet research institute.

In recent years, Taipei has eased its relations with Beijing and lifted restrictions on visiting the Chinese mainland. Hundreds of thousands of people from Taiwan have visited their relatives or invested in the mainland. The two sides have held talks on establishing respective representative's offices.

Recently, President Li Denghui [Li Teng-hui] put forward a new theory of one country, two governments, proposing to hold talks with Beijing's official representatives within the scope of this theory. However, the Chinese Government did not accept this proposal because it was against China's stand of one country, two systems. According to this stand, Taiwan should recognize the Beijing government while being allowed to retain its special status. Nevertheless, the limited progress in the attitude toward Taiwan is, after all, very conspicuous. Taiwan today is isolated on the diplomatic front, recognized only by 27 countries. However, nearly 140 countries have maintained substantial contacts and mutually beneficial economic and trade ties with Taiwan.

As for the Soviet Union, many people in Taiwan are interested in the Soviet Union and are deeply impressed with Soviet reforms. Many local experts believe that the success of Soviet reform will exert a favorable influence on the entire international community, help promote reforms in China and the Indochinese countries, and be conducive to the relaxation of relations between Taiwan and the mainland. In the past year or so, Taiwan has shown a keen interest in the Soviet Union, and it recently lifted the ban on travel to the Soviet Union. Tens of thousands of tourists are expected to visit the Soviet Union. In the near future, companies in Taiwan will have mutually beneficial cooperation with Soviet partners. Although bilateral trade has been going on, it is carried out indirectly through third parties. According to Taiwan statistics, the volume of indirect trade reached $141 million last year, topping 1988 by nearly 300 percent. It is the opinion of many Taiwan industrialists that direct trade will benefit both sides because Taiwan produces many different types of clothes, electronic equipment, foodstuffs, and other goods needed by our country.

For a long time, there were only one-sided reports on Taiwan. However, it has become very obvious today that no political obstacle can stop the people's desire to seek knowledge and understand life in every corner of the world. Of course, to develop relations with Taiwan will undermine and contradict our traditional ties with China, and this is wrong. Nevertheless, under the present global situation, it is shortsighted to reject mutually beneficial cooperation on the basis of outmoded ideological dogma, keeping in mind our country's economic recession. Progress in our country's relations with South Korea and Israel shows that we have begun to realize the true meaning of such shortsightedness.

CPC's Qiao Shi Meets With CPSU's Pavlov

PM2106142490 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 19 Jun 90 Second Edition p 5

[Unattributed report: "Interparty Ties"]

[Text] A CPSU delegation headed by A.S. Pavlov, chief of the CPSU Central Committee State and Law Department, was in the PRC 5 through 15 June to study experience of party work in the sphere of legal support for economic reform. The delegation was received by Qiao Shi, member of the Standing Committee of the CPC Central Committee Politburo.

Impact of Gorbachev China Visit Assessed

PM2006145790 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 17 Jun 90 Morning Edition p 4

[Report by IZVESTIYA correspondent Yu. Savenkov: "Trial of Strength. New Spheres of USSR-PRC Cooperation Opening Up"]

[Text] Beijing—"Close out the past, open up the future." This formula, comprising eight Chinese characters, is now a stock phrase. It determined the essential nature of what happened a year ago. For the first time in 30 years a Soviet leader, M.S. Gorbachev, arrived on Chinese soil and accomplished the long-awaited normalization of Soviet-Chinese relations. It was possible because the leaders of the two states displayed political wisdom, rose above the prejudices they had inherited from the past, and opened up a new chapter in the history of relations between the USSR and the PRC.

A year has passed. A difficult one for both countries. The process of movement forward and toward one another along the road of good-neighborliness and cooperation has continued. But, let us add, any assessments and decisions have been entirely independent. A year is a very short time and one would hardly expect any dramatic, qualitative changes; nevertheless, the healthy, new quality that was generated last May has passed the test. Political links, including parliamentary links, have made steady progress, the level of exchange of nongovernmental delegations has risen, and interparty links, long frozen, have developed normally. There have been reciprocal contacts between military people. Some 600 Chinese students are studying in the USSR and 320 Soviet students in China.

As the Chinese press has repeatedly stressed, the growth of Soviet-Chinese cooperation has taken place against the background of economic difficulties in both countries, which is doubly valuable. Nevertheless, I would single out one qualitatively new detail from the year. As is known, in the joint Soviet-Chinese communique which brought last year's summit to a close the sides agreed to take steps to reduce armed forces in the the Soviet-Chinese border region to the minimum level consonant with normal good-neighborly relations between two countries and also to make an effort to build confidence and maintain calm in the border area. Talks are being held between the two countries' diplomatic and military experts to develop this accord. Recently, during PRC State Council Premier Li Peng's visit to the USSR, an agreement was signed between the USSR and Chinese governments on the guiding principles of the mutual reduction of armed forces and confidence building in the military sphere in the Soviet-Chinese border area.

Some time ago a Chinese academic suggested the following idea to me: "We must seek to lower the level of defense sufficiency; we need an open border, not a 'fortified' one." A wise idea, and, apparently, what is currently happening in this sphere is indeed movement toward demilitarization. When you recall that, in the period when confrontation supplanted friendship and good-neighborliness between us, there was a sharp increase in the military groupings along the Soviet-Chinese frontier, it is hard to overestimate the two countries' efforts to switch the enormous defense resources to peaceful purposes. Indeed, the rapid development of links along the world's longest land border is now a fact of life for us.

The diplomats and the military must give more active support to people's desire for border security to be safeguarded not by military formations, but by a mutual commitment to cooperation and division of labor.

I asked Liu Seqing, director of the research institute of contemporary international relations, to assess the development of USSR-Chinese ties over the year since the summit meeting.

My interlocutor singled out the following features of Soviet-Chinese relations. First, their scope has expanded, in breadth and in depth, and ties are developing at many levels: government, provincial, local, and between organizations. New, previously unexplored spheres have appeared. Agreement has been reached, for example, on cooperation in peaceful space research, and there is the possibility of supplies of Soviet equipment for nuclear power stations. The second aspect is that of time. The old ties were irregular. Now, for example, the protocol on contacts between the USSR Foreign Ministry and the PRC Foreign Ministry makes them permanent. Another aspect is the long-term aspect. The program for the development of economic and scientific-technical cooperation until the year 2000 inspires confidence in favorable prospects for both countries.

"On assuming the presidency, M.S. Gorbachev stressed the need for the consistent implementation of the Vladivostok and Krasnoyarsk initiatives in the Asia-Pacific region. How do you assess the prospects for the transfer of the processes of disarmament and detente to Asian soil and the creation of a single security system in this region?"

"In my view," Liu Seqing replied, "the improvement of the situation in Asia will be aided by the strengthening of bilateral relations. For that very reason M.S. Gorbachev's visit was an exceptionally important event not

only for China and the Soviet Union but for the whole of Asia, for all the countries of the world. As politicians we are looking ahead, opening up the future. Li Peng's recent trip—the first visit to the USSR by a Chinese government head in 25 years—continued the good cause of paving the way to the future. And it was last year's Soviet-Chinese summit that started it off."

Jilin Delegation Ends Visit to Maritime Kray

LD2106105190 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 0800 GMT 21 Jun 90

[Text] A delegation from the PRC's Jilin Province, headed by Wang Zhongyu, chairman of the Provincial People's Government, has paid a three-day visit to Maritime Kray. The signing of a treaty with the Vostochnyy port on involving Chinese workers in the construction of housing and industrial facilities is one of the concrete results of the trip. The wish was also expressed to build here a brickworks and to open a Chinese cuisine restaurant. Among the most promising directions of the cooperation are a broadening of trade, creation of joint enterprises, development of scientific and technical ties, and interaction in the field of forestry and agriculture. The Chinese side has, in particular, expressed a readiness to supply fresh fruit and vegetables for the agroindustrial combine of the Maritime town of Ussuriysk.

Northeast Asia

Gorbachev Meeting With No Tae-u Assessed

PM2106143690 London MOSCOW NEWS in English No 3, 15-21 Jun 90 p 13

[Yuriy Bandura article: "Brief Encounter Makes History"]

[Text] President Gorbachev's meeting with South Korean President No Tae-u was a short aside to his US visit, which didn't yield any solid agreements, and merited a mere 36 lines of copy from TASS.

However, the rest of the world took a greater interest, heralding the rendezvous as a yet another step towards the end of the cold war.

Until recently, Soviet political commentators were not allowed to refer to the South Korean head of state as "president." Indeed, the Soviet Union didn't even recognise South Korea as a sovereign state.

Nevertheless, the state did exist, and became increasingly significant both politicaily and economically. Since 1945, South Korea has transformed itself from an arm of the Japanese empire into a modern and highly-developed state.

The Soviet Union's refusal to recognise South Korea as a state—in contrast to the recognition of both Germanys—had much to do with the fact that the border of the cold war confrontation ran along the 38 degree line of latitude, which divides the Korean Peninsula.

All territory south of that line was regarded as hostile, while the north was considered as a friend and ally. The Korean Peninsula was like a fuse attached to the entire Asian-Pacific region, with all its political and military complications.

Now, as the old black and white view of the world fades, the need to defuse tensions and eliminate such "fuses" is acute. By meeting President No Tae-u, President Gorbachev made real his desire to "de-ideologise" international relations.

The first step towards full and normal diplomatic relations between Moscow and Seoul has now been taken. This development will not be welcome in North Korea, but that should not prove an obstacle. Normal diplomatic relations are in the interests of everyone concerned, not least the North Koreans themselves, because the door would be opened to speedy weapons and armed forces reduction in the Far East.

On the other hand, it would be unwise to rush. A complex set of relations has been built up with North Korea over the last four decades, and while these may be viewed in many different ways, they cannot be ignored or discarded.

There is also the intricate question of the reunification of Korea, a process which shouldn't be hindered. Each new move concerning the Korean Peninsula must be coordinated, keeping in mind Korean aspirations for unification.

Thus, the first principle must be: "don't harm!" Not least because the two parties directly involved have not yet found a mutually acceptable basis from which to embark on this historic process.

Primakov on Gorbachev, No Tae-u Summit

SK2106065090 Moscow International Service in Korean 1100 GMT 20 Jun 90

["Gist" of interview with Yevgeniy Primakov, member of the USSR Presidential Council and member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo, by the PRAVDA editorial office: from the "Focus on Asian" program]

[Excerpts] [First announcer] Yevgeniy Primakov, member of the USSR Presidential Council and member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo, was interviewed by the PRAVDA editorial office.

He has recently returned from the United States where the Soviet-U.S. summit was held. We will now carry for you the gist of the interview. [passage omitted]

[First announcer] On the meeting between Mikhail Gorbachev and ROK President No Tae-u in San Francisco, Yevgeniy Primakov said:

[Second announcer] The plan for the meeting was ready long ago. It would be incorrect to consider the Soviet-ROK summit as any conspiracy for political contacts to

obtain loans, equipment, and consumer goods on the part of Moscow. As someone who was present at the meeting, I can testify that there was no discussion of such accords at it. It is another matter that President No Tae-u wanted to play up the meeting to the maximum extent for publicity reasons. The Soviet side has a different interest. This was why a promise was made there not to allow reporters to be present at the meeting. At first, it was also agreed not to allow photographers. However, in the course of negotiations, Mikhail Gorbachev gave in to President No Tae-u's earnest request for the presence of a photographer. As for the result of the meeting, (?I would leave it untouched. I would not comment on it.) The Soviet Union, having confirmed its position on the Korean question, is willing to contribute to the development of dialogue between the North and South and the cause of the peaceful reunification of Korea. This is a path toward reducing tension on the Korean peninsula and toward strengthening peace and stability in the Asia-Pacific region. It is precisely this which constitutes the essence of the initiatives put forward in Vladivostok and in Krasnoyarsk.

DPRK Attache on Korean Unity, Demilitarization

PM2006130590 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 14 Jun 90 Second Edition p 3

[Unattributed report: "Meeting in Editorial Office"]

[Text] On 13 June a meeting took place between Lieutenant General I.M. Panov, chief editor of KRASNAYA ZVEZDA, and Major General (?Kim Chon-chan), military, naval, and air attache at the DPRK Embassy in the USSR, who described the new initiatives of his country's leadership to demilitarize the Korean peninsula and unite Korea into a single democratic state.

In turn Lieutenant General I.M. Panov informed his guest of the KRASNAYA ZVEZDA editorial office's activity in covering events in the USSR and abroad and the perestroyka processes in the Soviet Armed Forces.

Achievements of Korean Studies Scholar Recounted

SK1706043490 Moscow International Service in Korean 0900 GMT 11 Jun 90

[Text] In a series on Soviet scholars involved in Korean studies, we have introduced scholars to you and touched on their lives and activities.

Today, we would like to talk about (Vladimir Tikhomirov), who was a prominent scholar of modern Korean history before passing away some time ago.

(Aliev Konshevich), a friend of (Tikhomirov), wrote as follows: (Vladimir Tikhomirov) was born into the home of a famous test pilot in Moscow. He graduated from Moscow College for Oriental Studies in 1952 as an honor student. He worked as a Korean translator for about six years while serving on a special team within the high-level party school, which was under the direct supervision of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. He then served in an organization of the CPSU Central Committee as a councilor, and later he worked as an assistant to Yuriy Andropov.

While carrying out his respected work without rest, (Tikhomirov) still found time to write academic works. Through hard work, he published a book in 1972 entitled "South Korea at the Present Stage." The (?research) work for this book was transferred to the Oriental Studies Research Institute in the Soviet Academy of Sciences.

He completed this book, which required intricate, diversified, and vast knowledge, in less than one year. Besides this, (Vladimir Tikhomirov) always carried out his work in a surprisingly efficient manner. During his 20-year tenure at the Academy of Sciences, he wrote a total of 2,000 pages of essays. His articles appeared in many scientific books and his treatises were carried in Soviet encyclopedias and collections of essays. He also was in charge of editing a book on Korean history—a basic scientific book—and he himself wrote some of the chapters.

Through his work, he quickly became one of the leading Soviet experts on the issue of Korea's reunification. He obtained a doctoral degree by publishing a treatise entitled "Korea's National Reunification Issue" in 1984.

(Tikhomirov) was one of the people who stressed, before all others, the need to recognize the fact that there are practically two states on the Korean peninsula. He consistently held that although the issue of Korea's reunification is essentially the work of the Korean people themselves, one should not view this issue as being separate from the issue of peace and security in the Asian-Pacific region or as separate from our national interest.

(Tikhomirov) proved in a useful and systematic way that forging ties between the Soviet Union and South Korea corresponded to the interests of all circles. At the same time, he stressed international solidarity between the peoples of the DPRK and the Soviet Union. Time has now proven the validity of his thought.

Recognizing that the Korean issue should not be limited to the Korean peninsula, (Tikhomirov) spent his later years deeply involved in international relations research.

He was a leader and writer of various collective works, including "A History of International Relations in the Far East from 1945 to 1978," "Japan and South Korea," "International Relations in Northeast Asia," and "Local Conflicts in Asia."

(Vladimir Tikhomirov) maintained a broad range of academic ties with scholars from many nations, including those in the DPRK and South Korea, and he participated in numerous international academic meetings. In these meetings, he gave speeches in Russian, Korean, and English.

His authority was great. In addition to profound learning and a broad range of knowledge, he had acute sensibilities, an ability to analyze matters wisely, and a high degree of persuasiveness. Moreover, his interest was not limited to science. He also was fond of good books, art, and drama. He liked racing cars, mountain climbing, and skiing.

He was an attractive and witty person. He was an intellectual in the truest sense. Gifted with a boundless creative will, he devoted himself to academic research. However, he passed away unexpectedly. It is difficult for us to believe that such an excellent person, who was a prominent scholar, has left us.

We think the saying that "One's moral character, unknown to others while one is alive, is known after death" applies to him.

Heroic Pilot Recounts His Days in Korean War

SK1606093790 Moscow International Service in Korean 1100 GMT 11 Jun 90

[Report based on an interview of (Aleksandr Smortskov), a Soviet pilot who fought in the Korean war, by an unidentified KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA reporter for an article entitled "On Soviet Pilots and Those Who Participated in Korean War"; from the "Focus on Asia" program—read by announcer]

[Text] [First announcer] KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA has made public the memoirs of (Aleksandr Smortskov), a Soviet hero, describing Soviet pilots' participation in the 1950-53 Korean war. During that time, (Smortskov) commanded a division of aviation heroes whose mission was to provide protection from aerial attacks to major facilities in the DPRK and in the northeastern part of China.

Although nearly 40 years have passed since the war, a great deal about the Soviet people's international assistance has silently remained far-removed from us, hidden behind a smoke screen of secrecy. Now, you are going to hear the gist of an interview between (Aleksandr Smortskov) and a KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA reporter.

[Second announcer] It was in June 1950. Our regiment was conducting an aerial exercise in which we shot at targets from MiG-15's.

Recalling this, (Smortskov) said: One day we were ordered to stop flying. We were put on a train after a brief roll call. Our train headed east. There, we were made the first pilots of jet fighters.

Toward the end of February 1951, our regiment received new orders to go [word indistinct] along with the aircraft. Only then did we realize that we were being sent to war.

By the end of March that year, the 18th [word indistinct] Royal Guard Aviation Regiment arrived at an airstrip along the Amur River. The entire regiment made its first combat flight. We flew in silence and [words indistinct].

Our group had no documents or letters on them. The bodies of the aircraft were marked with Korean insignia and the pilots were dressed in Chinese uniforms. From time to time, this stern regulation provoked laughter and excitement. The pilots did not understand why we had to hide our identity as Soviet pilots.

We were there until harvest. Even though we did not speak Korean or Chinese, we had to communicate in Korean during combat. In those days, we had no time to read the codes contained in a combat bag fixed on our right knee. Later, we abolished such useless procedures.

Our feelings toward U.S. soldiers were complicated. Not long before then we had embraced each other at the Elbe. At that time we were soldiers of allied countries. At this time, however, we were enemies. Nevertheless, we had no enmity toward them. We were enthusiastic about [word indistinct]. But then we came to hate them. This hatred began to appear among us as a whole. The death of my comrades-in-arms intensified this hatred.

Our sense of missing each other over the years had cooled. The Americans stayed and conducted saturation flights into North Korea. They were particularly interested in two objects—specifically, a bridge over the Amnok River and a hydraulic power station in North Hamgyong Province that was supplying power to Manchuria and North Korea. The enemy's pursuit-assault planes and bombers bombed these objects, even using napalm. We did our best to keep them from bombing these facilities.

Our regiment's first victory was won by pilot (Akatov). He destroyed a Sabre, also known as a (?speedy dwarf), at one stroke. He died a short while later, however.

Initially, we had a great deal of difficulty. We were housed in an inconvenient part of the air field, and the planes were [words indistinct].

(The most frequent sorties came in the form of massive flights of pursuit-assault planes, such as F-80's and F-84's.) The Soviet pilots flew as a group under the cover of pursuit-assault planes.

We cannot but admire the American pilots' techniques. Still, they were no better than those of Hitler's men.

According to [name indistinct], Koreans had informed us of the following: For many Americans, the war was for "making money." They were said to have signed contracts for 100 sorties. This is understandable. Our pilots also tried to understand what we were fighting for, all the more because we staked our lives on sorties and buried our dead soldiers at Port Arthur.

In answer to our question of why, the political functionaries unanimously, without any deviation, said: To defend Soviet interests in a distant, hostile land.

Our flying hours were extended until the last minute. It was realized that the pilots had been completely exhausted. The war period [word indistinct]. That was in February 1950.

One day we fought together with our old friends [word indistinct]. They had shot down seven enemy aircraft without losing any of their own planes.

When they were back at the air field, the commander of the division congratulated them all on their victory and their survival. Some of them did not need such congratulations. They remain in Port Arthur, living in our memory.

In our country, we had been ordered to keep our mouths shut as to where and what they died for.

It is painful and [word indistinct] for we had to shut our mouths about the war for a long time. That is why we remained on the narrow track of reminiscing about our dead comrades-in-arms and those missing in action.

Keeping silent does not necessarily mean forgetting.

We have kept this secret to ourselves for nearly 40 years. But we have nothing to be ashamed of.

More on Dispute Over DPRK Fishing Boats

OW1806034190 Tokyo KYODO in English 2353 GMT 17 Jun 90

[Text] Nakhodka, Soviet Union, June 18 KYODO—Twelve North Korean-registered fishing boats and their largely Japanese crews, seized by Soviet authorities for poaching, will be handed over shortly to North Korea, Soviet sources said on Sunday.

The boats and their 169 fishermen, many of them Japanese, were brought to the Soviet Far East port of Nakhodka, near Vladivostok, for questioning after being seized for poaching salmon in the North Pacific last month.

Officials at the Japanese Embassy in Moscow said they were unaware of the Soviet decision, and will confirm it with Soviet officials on Monday.

The Soviet sources said North Korea has criminal jurisdiction over North Korean-registered ships which poach fish in the open seas, under rules stipulated in a Soviet-North Korean fishery agreement. The jurisdiction covers decisions on fines and confiscation of boats, they said.

Soviet fishery officials will confirm North Korea's jurisdiction over the case in a meeting with Korean officials expected to be held shortly at the North Korean Embassy in Moscow and notify Pyongyang of the delivery of the boats and all the crew members, the sources said.

The Soviet investigation into the case has been limited to civil matters such as compensation for salmon caught by the boats, they said.

The sources said Soviet authorities will complete their inquiries on compensation concerning 10 of the boats, excluding two which did not conduct fishing, by the end of this week.

Crewmen Released Without Trial

OW1806152290 Tokyo KYODO in English 1427 GMT 18 Jun 90

[Text] Nakhodka, Soviet Union, June 18 KYODO—Japanese fishermen on board North Korean-registered fishing boats who were caught by Soviet authorities for poaching salmon could return home soon without trial if they are handed over to North Korea, officials of the North Korean Consulate General here said Monday.

Two of the 12 North Korean-registered Japanese fishing boats anchored here because of illegal salmon fishing in Soviet waters are expected to be released and leave for Hung Nam Port in North Korea on Tuesday at the earliest as soon as they receive official notice from the Soviet authorities, the officials said.

The North Korean officials said they do not think the Japanese crewmen will be put on trial and hoped they will return home soon.

Meanwhile, Soviet Foreign Ministry officials said Japanese officials will meet the Japanese crew members of the No. 11 and No. 12 On Yang before the ships leave for Hung Nam. They said 'We were instructed by the Foreign and Fishery Ministries not to allow the ships to leave without interviewing the Japanese officials.'

The Soviet Union decided to deliver the two fishing boats to North Korea after they found the vessels had not actually been poaching.

The 12 fishing boats and 169 crew members were taken to Nakhodka in the Soviet Far East for questioning after being seized for poaching salmon in the North Pacific last month.

Fishermen Carry DPRK Passports

OW2206072490 Tokyo KYODO in English 1429 GMT 21 Jun 90

[Text] Moscow, June 21 KYODO—About half of the Japanese fishermen on board 12 fishing vessels seized in the northern Pacific for allegedly poaching Soviet-spawned salmon last month were carrying North Korean passports, a source at the Soviet Ministry of Fisheries said Thursday.

According to the source, 86 Japanese seamen were carrying North Korean passports completed with their names, date of birth, position on the fishing vessel, and passport numbers.

The passport numbers were, for the most part, in serial order, leading authorities to believe that the passports were probably issued at the same time.

The source also indicated that the number of Japanese seamen in custody may be less than the 169 originally believed.

In mid-May, 12 fishing vessels, flying North Korean flags and apparently leased from a Hokkaido fishery company, were seized by the Soviet Union off the Kamchatka Peninsula for allegedly hauling in salmon spawned in Soviet rivers.

The seamen and fishing vessels are currently in the Soviet Far East port of Nakhodka where Soviet officials are continuing their investigations into the incident.

Near East & South Asia

U.S Suspension of PLO Dialogue Criticized

LD2106175890 Moscow International Service in Arabic 1500 GMT 21 Jun 90

[Aleksey Zlatorunskiy commentary: "A Policy of Double Standards"]

[Text] U.S. President George Bush announced at a news conference in Alabama his decision to suspend the dialogue with the PLO. Yet George Bush admitted the important role which the PLO plays in the issue of a Middle East settlement. Commentator Aleksey Zlatorunskiy says:

I recall that the U.S. started the direct dialogue with the PLO in December 1988. This followed the PLO Executive Committee decision to officially recognize Israel's right to exist, to accept UN Resolutions 242 and 338, and to denounce all forms of terrorism. If we do not take into consideration the current U.S.-Palestinian consultations, only four official meetings were held. The latest was in August 1989. Media reports bear witness to the importance of this meeting despite the fact that the U.S.-Palestinian dialogue has not produced definite results. The importance of this dialogue was confined to the fact that Washington was able to get trustworthy information about developments in the Middle East. Moreover, Washington's dialogue with the PLO has indicated an objective recognition of the PLO's role in the Middle East peace process, and to a certain extent, it has stopped Israel from committing illegal actions. This dialogue has now been stopped, and the first reaction to the White House decision is logical. Perez de Cuellar, UN secretary general, has expressed the hope that the dialogue will be resumed soon. In a special statement issued at the United Nations, the Arab League expressed its regret at this step by the U.S. Administration and fears that halting the dialogue will help Israel maintain its intransigent attitude toward the PLO, a matter which will have a negative effect on Arab-American relations.

Some diplomatic quarters in several Arab countries point out that Washington has adopted this step to reduce Israel's negative attitude toward the recent statements by James Baker about Israel's lack of desire to assist in the Middle East peace process. These quarters confirm that the United States has not won, but lost more.

What forced the White House to halt the dialogue with the PLO? If one takes seriously the assertions by President Bush that it was because of 'Arafat's refusal to punish those responsible for the attempt to land Palestinian fighters on Israel's coast, many questions come to mind: Why did the United States not punish Israel, even if only symbolically, when an Israeli soldier killed a number of Palestinian Arab workers a month ago, or when an Israeli soldier threw a gas grenade through the window of a children's clinic, poisoning 66 children, some of them mere infants? Or why despite the intensification of collective terrorism against the population of the occupied territories, does the United States confirm in every suitable or unsuitable case that these Israeli actions do not reflect negatively in any case on the nature of U.S.-Israeli relations, and naturally on the nature of U.S. aid to Israel?

Israel regards any such an attitude by the United States as a manifestation of a policy of double standards and draws the necessary conclusions. Shamir's first reaction indicates that he received Bush's decision to halt the dialogue with the PLO as a signal to resume the armed combat of the intifidah, renew repression and escalate the situation in the Middle East. Does Washington want all this?

Consequences 'Unpredictable'

LD2206131390 Moscow TASS in English 1131 GMT 22 Jun 90

[Text] Moscow June 22 TASS—On June 20 the U.S. announced the suspension of its dialogue with the Palestine Liberation Organisation.

In reply to a TASS question, the spokesman [as received] said the dialogue between the U.S. and the PLO, which pursues a realistic and constructive course in Middle Eastern affairs, could serve as one of the instruments to initiate a peace process in the region, despite its limited nature. The need for settlement has never been as acute as today.

The U.S. Administration justifies its decision by pointing to an operation by Palestinian guerrillas near the Israeli coast on May 30 this year and the lack of adequate reaction from the PLO. However the 19th session of the National Palestine Council in Algiers renounced terrorism. As for the May 30 operation, the PLO leadership formally denied any involvement in it.

Termination of the dialogue may play into the hands of those forces that are not interested in attaining peace in the Middle East, lead to greater tensions, and is fraught with unpredictable consequences.

Israeli Labor Leader on Restored Diplomatic Ties

TA2106185090 Tel Aviv IDF Radio in Hebrew 1400 GMT 21 Jun 90

[Report by Qeren Neubach]

[Text] Arriving at Moscow's international airport last night, Histadrut [Labor Federation] Secretary General Yisra'el Qeysar was given an official reception in accordance with protocol rules customary in the Soviet Union. At the reception, Qeysar's hosts—the heads of trade unions—said that the resumption of relations with the Histadrut advances the full restoration of diplomatic ties between the two countries.

In the first work session, the participants examined ways in which the Soviet cooperative movement and the Histadrut holding company can work together. The first stage envisaged was the establishment of a joint tourism company, the need for which was noted in view of the great demand for travel to Israel among Soviet nationals, particularly clerics. At the same time, there are many Israelis traveling to the Soviet Union to visit relatives.

Later Qeysar met with the Soviet trade minister. The two-hour meeting was held at the Foreign Economic Relations Ministry's main offices.

Israel's Levi Requests Meeting With Shevardnadze

TA2206100190 Tel Aviv MA'ARIV in Hebrew 22 Jun 90 p A1

[Report by Ilan Bakhar]

[Text] Israel has requested from the Soviet Union a meeting between Shevardnadze and Foreign Minister David Levi. Upon the minister's request, Israel's ambassador in Washington discussed the issue with Yevgeniy Katavoy, the USSR deputy ambassador in Washington [name and title as published].

Petrovskiy Receives Iranian Ambassador

LD2106212490 Moscow TASS in English 1950 GMT 21 Jun 90

[Text] Moscow June 21 TASS—Soviet Deputy Foreign Minister Vladimir Petrovskiy received today Naser Heiraniy Nobari, ambassador of the Islamic Republic of Iran to the Soviet Union, at the latter's request.

They discussed various forms of Soviet assistance in promoting the Iranian-Iraqi settlement on the basis of resolution 598 of the U.N. Security Council.

Supsov Delegation Received by Afghan Leaders

PM2106150590 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 19 Jun 90 First Edition p 3

[TASS report under the general heading "Joining Efforts"]

[Text] Kabul, 18 Jun—The Afghan Prime Minister F. Khaliqyar received a USSR Supreme Soviet delegation made up of P.V. Shetko, chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Committee on Internationalist Servicemen's Affairs and V.N. Ochirov, deputy chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Committee for Defense and State Security Questions, who have come here on a working visit.

Touching on the relations of friendship and cooperation linking the two countries' peoples, the head of the Afghan Government noted that Afghan-Soviet friendship has now become a tradition. Our new Government which has recently started work, he continued, will aim for the further strengthening of these relations. The Afghan ministerial cabinet will continue its efforts to secure the liberation of the Soviet prisoners of war who are in the hands of the Afghan opposition.

Economic assistance from the USSR is of great importance in restoring the Afghan economy, which has been destroyed by the war, F. Haq Khaliqyar pointed out. We are expecting greater assistance from all the countries in the world, and particularly from our neighbors.

Yesterday, the Soviet delegation was received by Najibullah, president of the Republic of Afghanistan. During the meeting, the Afghan leader reported on the profound processes of renewal in the political and social spheres of Afghan society.

The USSR Supreme Soviet delegation left for home today.

Deputy Minister Receives Afghan Ambassador

PM2206123590 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 20 Jun 90 Morning Edition p 4

[TASS report under general heading: "Official Reports"]

[Text] On 18 June A.A. Obukhov, USSR deputy foreign minister, received M.D. Razmyar, Afghan ambassador to the Soviet Union, at the latter's request.

East Europe

Shevardnadze in Berlin for Two-Plus-Four Talks

LD2206082190 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 0746 GMT 22 Jun 90

[Text] Berlin, 22 Jun (TASS)—E.A. Shevardnadze, USSR minister of foreign affairs, arrived in the capital of the GDR today to take part in the second meeting of foreign ministers of the two German states and the four victorious powers based on the "two-plus-four" formula.

He was met at the airport by GDR Foreign Minister Markus Meckel and other officials. Among those meeting him was G.S. Shikin, USSR ambassador to the GDR.

Supsov's Lukyanov Receives Polish Sejm Marshal

PM2106142690 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 19 Jun 90 Second Edition p 5

[TASS report under the "Official" rubric: "Talk in the Kremlin"]

[Text] On 18 June A.I. Lukyanov, chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet, received a delegation of the Polish Sejm, headed by Marshal of the Sejm M. Kozakiewicz, which is in the Soviet Union on an official visit.

A.I. Lukyanov briefed the Polish parliamentarians on the course of implementation of economic and political reforms and the development of interethnic relations in the Soviet Union, and highlighted the main aspects of the work of the USSR Supreme Soviet and of its third session, which has just ended. The Soviet Union's principled stance on a number of topical problems of the international situation, including the question of unification of the two German states, was set forth.

M. Kozakiewicz spoke about the process of socioeconomic transformations in the Republic of Poland and the activity of the Polish Sejm and dwelt on certain questions of the development of the situation on the European continent.

Both sides noted that good-neighborly relations between the USSR and Poland rest on the firm foundations of mutual interests, which are objectively manifested both in the course of the resolution by the Soviet Union and Poland of their own domestic problems, and in the approach to ensuring international security and developing the all-European process; the intention actively to develop Soviet-Polish parliamentary ties was expressed.

Warship Leads Baltic Fleet Visit to Poland

LD2106075490 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1714 GMT 20 Jun 90

[Text] Szczecin, 20 June (TASS)—Mikhail Malchun, TASS correspondent reports:

A group of warships of the Baltic Fleet, twice decorated with the Red Banner, under the command of Rear Admiral Ye. A. Chebanov, deputy commander of the fleet, arrived in the port of this city this morning. The patrol escort "Neukrotimyy" and a large amphibious warship were the center of attention of the polish public right from the start.

The group's command visited the commanders of the navy of the Republic of Poland and of the Szczecin garrison and also visited the city and voivodship authorities. They took part in a news conference devoted to the visit of the Soviet warships.

The crews of the "Neukrotimyy" and the large amphibious warship, guided by the collectives of port workers and seamen, familiarized themselves with historical monuments in Szczecin and in the environs.

The Soviet warships will take part in the festivities of the days of the sea, a Polish tradition.

Prunskiene Pays Working Visit to Poland

WA2206120090

For East European reportage on the visit by Premier Kazimiera Prunskiene to Poland, including reports on her talks with Polish Prime Minister Tadeusz Mazowiecki and Foreign Affairs Minister Krzysztof Skubiszewski, please see the Poland section of the 22 June East Europe DAILY REPORT and subsequent issues.

Doubt Cast on Czech Plea for 1968 Intervention

PM2206143890 London MOSCOW NEWS in English No 3, 15-21 Jun 90 p 13

[Interview with Czechoslovak professor Vojtech Mencl by Nikolay Gorlov; date not given: "Letter That Sent in Tanks May Not Even Exist"]

[Text] Interviewer Nikolay Gorlov of Moscow News asked Professor Mencl in Prague: Would you say that the period under investigation is yet another of our historical blank spots?

Vojtech Mencl: Until now no serious study of those events has been possible. The archives were closed, even newspapers, from that time were unavailable.

One of the greatest mysteries of the Prague spring is the letter from members of the Czechoslovak Communist Party Central Committee which allegedly requested military intervention to quell an "internal counter-revolution."

Nikolay Gorlov: Have you managed to find out anything about this letter?

Vojtech Mencl: Unfortunately we still are not certain if it ever existed.

Nikolay Gorlov: Is it true that your quest has been hampered by the fact that the discovery this letter could mean the prosecution of its authors?

Vojtech Mencl: Yes. And now the Procurator's office has been commissioned by our government to investigate the whole matter and to determine whether the invitation for foreign intervention was a crime against humanity.

People are afraid to say what they know, which hinders our research.

Nikolay Gorlov: Does it mean that the authors of the letter could be prosecuted?

Vojtech Mencl: In principle, yes. But no court can prove that their actions were the direct cause of the military intervention.

I believe the decision to intervene was made by the Soviet leadership even before the meeting on August 3,

1968, of the heads of socialist countries in Bratislava, when the letter was allegedly handed to Leonid Brezhnev.

Thus the letter, if it existed, served merely as propaganda in statements to the press and at UN Security Council meetings.

Nikolay Gorlov: When was the decision about intervention made, according to your inquiries?

Vojtech Mencl: In July, after a negative response from the Czechoslovak Communist Party Central Committee to the "Warsaw message" by the leaders of other socialist countries.

The date was fixed some time between 10 and 15 August and the Soviet Allies were informed during the meeting of representatives of the five Warsaw Pact countries on 18 August in Moscow.

Nikolay Gorlov: Did the Czechoslovak leaders believe in the possibility of military intervention against their country?

Vojtech Mencl: No. They thought the negative impact of such an action would far out-strip the advantages.

Nikolay Gorlov: When did Alexander Dubcek and other party members learn about the intervention?

Vojtech Mencl: It happened during the night of 20 August. Bilak and his supporters proposed that the intervention should be regarded as an act of mercy.

Members of the Central Committee voted on the issue. Four, including Bilak, were in favour, but six including Dubcek were against.

Those who voted against remained in the Central Committee building, hoping to negotiate with Brezhnev or the Soviet Embassy in Prague.

Bilak's minority group saw that they would not get their way by peaceful means and decided to resort to different measures: all the "dissident" members of the Presidium were arrested by Salgovic's men some time between one and two on the morning of 21 August.

Nikolay Gorlov: Can you expand on the role of Salgovic?

Vojtech Mencl: The new government had to legally exonerate Salgovic's actions. However, President Svoboda refused to recognise that government without agreement from Dubcek, who had already left Prague.

Salgovic left his job at the Ministry of Internal Affairs, but he was well rewarded during the "normalisation" period when he became chairman of the parliament of Slovakia in the last few years before his suicide, shortly after the November revolution of last year.

Nikolay Gorlov: Judging from the Czechoslovak press the commission is expected to come up with a scoop.

Vojtech Mencl: We will not discover anything sensational. We need a more detailed analysis of the purge in the Party and other developments after August 21, 1968 and the motives involved.

West Europe

Finland Halts Paper Deliveries to USSR

LD2206074390 Vilnius Domestic Service in Lithuanian 0700 GMT 22 Jun 90

[Text] Finland's timber processing enterprises have stopped deliveries of paper to the Soviet Union because Moscow has failed to pay 40 million marks. This action by Finland may affect the publication of many Soviet newspapers, including PRAVDA, especially as other Western countries do not supply paper to the Soviet Union.

Norwegian Army Chief Confirms Mutual 'Trust'

PM1806142390 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 15 Jun 90 First Edition p 3

[Report by Captain S. Sidorov featuring interview with Major General A. Sulli, chief inspector, Norwegian Land Forces: "General A. Sulli: 'We Are Good Neighbors'"]

[Text] On 13 June Army General M.A. Moiseyev, chief of the USSR Armed Forces General Staff and USSR first deputy defense minister, received Major General A. Sulli, chief inspector of Norwegian Land Forces, who was on an official visit to the Soviet Union. In the talk, which took place in an atmosphere of mutual understanding, the sides discussed questions of mutual interest, specifically questions associated with the changes in Europe and with the course of the Vienna talks on conventional forces on the continent. Taking part in the meeting were Army General V.I. Varennikov, commander in chief of the ground forces and USSR deputy defense minister; O. Bucher Johanessen, Norwegian ambassador to the USSR; and other officials.

After the meeting ended Major General A. Sulli answered KRASNAYA ZVEZDA's questions at general headquarters.

[Sidorov] How do you assess the results of the talk with Army General M.A. Moiseyev?

[Sulli) I thought it useful and frank. It clarified much and gave a deeper understanding of a number of questions. For Norway, as for other states in NATO, it is important to understand the whole complexity of the military and other problems faced by such a major power as the Soviet Union.

[Sidorov] What significance do Norway and its Armed Forces attach to your visit?

[Sulli] Army General Varennikov visited our country quite recently. We showed him our Army. As his words

convey, he was satisfied with what he saw. We, likewise, consider our visit highly important in understanding the Soviet army's structure and the direction taken by its training. Moreover, it is very important for simple soldiers to be able to chat to each other without political double-talk. This furthers the strengthening of trust.

[Sidorov] What do you expect from the visit to the Soviet military garrison in Pechenga, which is located not far from the Soviet-Norwegian border?

[Sulli] We expect to see the organization of combat training. The interest is of a purely professional nature, after all, we and those who serve there are operating in identical climatic and topographic conditions.

[Sidorov] The timetable of your stay in the Soviet Union has been arranged so that you will set off home by a somewhat unusual method for official visits—from Pechenga you will cross the border in a car, going directly through the border crossing point guardpost.... What is the explanation for this?

[Sulli] First, the Soviet side's desire to meet us halfway: Why on earth, being only two steps from Norway, return to Leningrad or Moscow in order to catch a plane for Oslo. Second, it once more confirms the high level of trust and good-neighborliness which have been established between our countries.

Shevardnadze Signs Ambassador's Obituary

PM2106081790 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 19 Jun 90 Morning Edition p 6

[Obituary of Aleksandr Vasilyevich Teterin]

[Excerpts] CPSU Member A.V. Teterin, USSR ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary to Norway, has died suddenly while discharging his official duties. An honest, good, and responsive man, a communist, and experienced diplomat is no more.

He was born in 1927 in Volgograd Oblast. [passage omitted]

[Signed] E.A. Shevardnadze
V.M. Falin
A.G. Kovalev
A.M. Belonogov
V.P. Karpov
Yu.A. Kvitsinskiy
V.G. Komplektov
V.M. Nikiforov
E.Ye. Obminskiy
A.A. Obukhov
V.F. Petrovskiy
I.A. Rogachev
B.N. Chaplin
G.I. Gerasimov
V.M. Vasev
I.S. Ivanov
S.P. Tarasenko
S.V. Chervonenko
N.N. Uspenskiy
V.N. Lipnyakov

Dutch Naval Vessels Visit Leningrad 20 Jun

LD2006233790 Moscow TASS in English 2133 GMT 20 Jun 90

[By TASS correspondent Aleksandr Chumakov]

[Text] Leningrad June 21 TASS—A Dutch naval squadron under the flag of its commander Rear Admiral A. Van de Sande arrived in Leningrad for an official visit on Wednesday. The De Reuter destroyer, Peter Floris frigate and Zuderkruiz transport vessel moored at the berth of the sea terminal.

The visit of the Dutch naval ships to Leningrad coincided in time with the first official visit to the Soviet Union of Dutch Defence Minister Relus Ter Beek. He arrives in Leningrad on Thursday and intends to visit the ships.

Swedish Parliamentarians Hold Talks in Moscow

PM2006135390 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 17 Jun 90 Morning Edition p 4

[TASS report: "Meetings In Moscow"]

[Text] On 15 June R.N. Nishanov, chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Soviet of Nationalities, met with a delegation from the Swedish Riksdag Foreign Affairs Commission headed by S. Alemyr. The guests were informed about the results of the third session of the USSR Supreme Soviet and about the structure and activities of the Soviet parliament's supreme organ.

Swedish Ambassador to the USSR O. Berner participated in the conversation.

On the same day S. Alemyr and O. Berner met with the USSR President's adviser V.V. Zagladin.

At the USSR Academy of Sciences Europe Institute and at the USSR Academy of Sciences World Economics and International Relations Institute the delegation members discussed the course of integration processes in Europe and the creation of a single security system on the continent.

Swedish Ambassador to the USSR O. Berner arranged a reception to mark the Riksdag Foreign Affairs Commission delegation's stay.

The reception was attended by A.S. Dzasokhov, chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Committee for International Affairs, and other officials.

More on Baden-Wurttemberg Delegation Visit

PM2006095590 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 19 Jun 90 Single Edition p 1

[TASS report: "Talk at the RSFSR Council of Ministers"]

[Text] On 18 June talks were held between L.A. Gorshkov, deputy chairman of the RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic] Council of Ministers, and L. Spaeth, minister-president of the Federal Land of Baden-Wuerttemberg (FRG), who is on an official visit to the Soviet Union at the invitation of the RSFSR Council of Ministers.

Taking part in the talk were Minister of Economics H. Schaufler, Minister of Science and Culture H. Engler, State Artistic Advisor V. Hennenvein, FRG Ambassador to the USSR K. Blech; and from the Soviet side RSFSR Ministers V.M. Vinogradov, I.F. Obraztsov, Yu.S. Melentyev, Yu.S. Sukhin, A.G. Shumeyko, and leaders of a number of other Russian ministries and departments.

The RSFSR Council of Ministers gave a dinner in the guest's honor in the evening.

Anglo-Soviet Tyumen Enterprise Planned

PM2006125190 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 18 Jun 90 Morning Edition p 1

[Report by V. Romanyuk: "Flares Will Go Out at Arctic Circle"]

[Text] A joint-stock agreement has been signed on the creation of an Anglo-Soviet enterprise in Novyy Urengoy.

Many people remember the battles over the Tyumen "plans of the century." Under public pressure they have become markedly "thinner." Ecological problems are now being resolved at a qualitatively different level. This applies fully to the polyethylene production facility which it is planned to create in Novyy Urengoy, at the Arctic Circle itself. The bank consortium headed by Morgan Grenfell and the John Brown firm and the "Gazprom" state concern have become the institutors of the Novyy Urengoy gas and chemical complex.

What is our interest here? While the country needs 5 million tonnes of polyethylene, only 1 million tonnes are being produced. The Novyy Urengoy complex will provide 300,000 tonnes of granules a year. The range of future output will include polyethylene pipes for piping gas to villages and hamlets, film for hothouses, polyethylene sacks, and much else. Our partners will not lose out either—nearly half the output will go on the foreign market. The unstable condensate which is so far being burned in flares will serve as the raw material for this output in short supply.

There remains a delicate question: What is this—waste for use and output for foreign firms? Let us stress the ecological aspect of this plan: The ecologically cleanest option has been chosen. There will be no solid waste at all and the gas discharge will be considerably lower than the maximum permitted concentrations.

The schedule for constructing the gas and chemical complex in Novyy Urengoy has been set at approximately three and a half years. The total cost in rubles and foreign currency will be recouped in 5.4 years and the debt will be extinguished with the enterprise's profit within eight years. It is also important that the laid off construction workers from the "Urengoygazstroy" will receive work for several years to come.

Latin America & Caribbean

Cuban Sugar Production, Market Analyzed

90UF0182A Moscow SELSKAYA ZHIZN in Russian 19 May 90 p 3

[Article by B. Lesik under the rubric "From the Cuban Notebook": "The Salty Sweat of the Sugar Harvest"]

[Text] A most crucial agricultural effort—the sugar cane harvest—approaches completion during these May days. The whole country follows its course for a good half of the year. And not only follows it but helps out.

And that is not surprising. For Cuba, sugar production is 80 percent of its export and about 20 percent of the total social product. Cuba is considered the largest exporter of sugar in the world and is responsible for almost 10 percent of sugar deliveries to the free market.

When the Spanish conqueror and conquistador Diego Velasquez brought sugar cane to the island he could hardly have foreseen that the plant would occupy such an important position in the economic development of the country and determine its history in many respects.

"Trapiches," primitive enterprises for extracting the sweet sap from the plant's stalk and processing it, sprang up with the very first plantings of cane. Caravels began sailing to Spain with sugar in the 16th century. But the business began to develop especially quickly in the 18th century, and in the next century the Cuban sugar industry already occupied first place in the world. Cuba produced a million tons of sugar for the first time about 100 years ago. Now, depending on weather conditions, the Island of Freedom produces 7-8.5 million tons of sugar produce.

Before the revolution about 50 percent of the capital invested in the sector belonged to foreigners. Many of the largest sugar factories and cane plantations were the property of individual U.S. capitalists or companies.

A new page is being written in the story of Cuba's sugar production in the years of the people's power. A factory to assemble combines for harvesting cane was constructed in the city of Olgin with the help of the USSR. The factory, at first KTP-1 and then KTP-2, permitted sharp reductions in the army of "macheteros," the men who cut the cane. In 1970 more than 300,000 workers poured out salty sweat on the island's sugar plantations; the number for the current harvest does not exceed 85,000. The main burden of the difficult harvest work

was borne by the combines. They will cut no less than 70 percent of the cane on a large plantation—almost 2 million hectares.

"Cuba's most successful year was 1970. We produced the greatest quantity of sugar in the country's entire history—8,537,639 tons," said Juan Herrera, minister of sugar production, to foreign journalists in an interview before the start of the last harvest. "After that there were serious problems. Economic mistakes, droughts, and hurricanes hindered us. Hurricane 'Kate' at the end of 1985 alone 'stole' almost 1 million tons of sugar from us. Cuba's "sugar debt" appeared as a result. The preceding harvest was successful—8.124 tons of sugar were produced. We hope that the current cane harvest will allow us to exceed that figure. We have created all the conditions for success...."

It becomes clear how important the new harvest is if one recalls that to cover its "sugar debt" Cuba went into debt to the countries of Western Europe under USSR guarantee by 4.8 million tons of sugar. According to foreign data, by the middle of 1989 that debt comprised 6.3 million tons for a total of $1.8 billion.

The results of the harvest will apparently be totalled up no sooner than June-July. I had the opportunity to observe the harvest in full swing at the end of February. The weather was relatively pleasant for the harvest—the rain, which halts the combines, macheteros, and sugar factories, was rare. Along the village streets and highways huge sections of two- and three-meter cane "went bald" literally before my eyes. In the air was the characteristic saccharine scent of syrup. The boots of the combine drivers and the cutters were instantly covered with sweet whiteness and their backs with salty whiteness. Sugar and sweat alternately—this feature marked the harvest.

I will admit that the work of the cane combines, which is similar to harvesting corn, hardly surprised me. But the macheteros were another thing....

I became acquainted with them in the Khobo department of the "Uruguay" agroindustrial complex in the province of Sancti Spiritus. Here 289 cavaleria or 3,888 hectares are under sugar cane production. Four combines and six teams of cutters, five of them volunteer, participated in the harvest. The team work brigade imeni the 16th congress of trade unions, headed by the tobacco grower Orlando Perez, is considered to have the best cutters in the province.

"In this team there are 48 volunteers from seven towns," said department head Roberto Castro. "Over three months of work they have cut down 3,599,168 arroba of cane. One arroba is approximately 11.5 kg. By the end of the harvest they will have given us no less than 6 million arroba."

At the plantation, once we had made our way across the high mounds of cut cane to one of the groups of macheteros, I committed a piece of obvious impudence—I asked for a machete (a huge, short knife) in order to try to "fell" a dozen cane. I gave them my very best and... five minutes! Of course I had become soaked and given everyone a laugh.

I watched how the high wall of cane quickly withdrew before the strokes of the machete. But four rows of cutters moved forward in a sort of corridor. A slender black-haired fellow with a beard hardly straightened his back, nimbly throwing aside the stalks which had already been stripped of leaves.

"It is our leader, Roberto Rodriguez, from the town of Trinidad," said the brigade leader Orlando Perez, an elderly, short brawny fellow who introduced him. "Of course 30 years old is the best age for a macheteros. He has his strength and has worked enough to have experience. But what Roberto is doing is amazing. He has already cut down 105,000 arrobas. Over the past 15 days he has earned 425 pesos—three times more than a minister."

Seeing us, Rodriguez stopped and, taking off his glove, he firmly shook my hand and smiled broadly. At our compliments he joked, "I do not wish to fall behind my namesake Maria Luisa Rodriguez."

And here I noticed a middle-aged woman with a machete in her hands.

"She is the best cane cutter on Cuba," said the male cutter with open respect as he introduced her. "She has held the lead for three years. And now she has obligated herself to cut no less than 80,000 arrobas, which will yield almost 912 tons of sugar."

I again encountered the sugar cane at the "5 September" agro-industrial complex in Cienfuegos Province. Here it was probably less salty than anywhere else. There are 54 combines harvesting almost 90 percent of the 17,500 hectares of the sugar harvest. Ten years ago almost 10,000 macheteros were enlisted to cut the cane, but today—only 800.

"Our complex has its own processing factory with a capacity of 100,000 tons of raw sugar during the harvest season. It has its own railroad, four diesel locomotives, and 206 special wagons," said Emilio Delgado, the complex's assistant director for economics. "It is 24 hours between the harvesting and the prepared sugar. The majority of the cane is grown by the complex's seven teams. In addition, the factory is contracted to buy raw material from neighboring cooperatives and individual peasants in order to run at full capacity. Half of the plantations have irrigation, and the others are at risk for drought. The sugar yield is considered quite good—6.7 tons per hectare. We want to widen the area of the better ones—'Kharona-60-5' and 'Mayori-50-14'...."

At the complex, significant work is being conducted to introduce technology for processing cane without waste. Waste products go for the production of rum, nutrient yeasts, supplements, construction tiles, and paper. It is interesting that the factory only uses pulp for fuel. In

addition to covering its own needs, it transfers 28,000 kilowatt-hours of electrical energy to the national network.

All the raw sugar of the "5 September" complex consistently receives the Mark of Quality and is sent out for export.

Who buys Cuban sugar? First and foremost the Soviet Union, China, and the countries of Eastern Europe (I have decided not to call them the socialist countries as we used to—they may get offended!). Last year, for example, the USSR bought 4.3 million tons from Cuba—one-third of the sugar used in our country—and China bought about 1.4 million tons.

The Island of Freedom ships its raw sugar—the yellowish crystals still smelling of the syrup—in bulk. I had the opportunity to see how this is done in the warehouses of the "Tricontinental" export enterprise at the port of Cienfuegos.

With the help of conveyers the sugar was moved along huge piers directly into the holds of the ships. At the moment that I arrived the sweet sand was filling the belly of the Soviet dry cargo ship "Chkalovsk." At the same time dump trucks and container wagons approached a waste pit in a constant stream. That part of the raw sugar that did not immediately end up in a ship was sent to a huge hangar-warehouse.

I have never seen such a Mont Blanc of sugar. With the sugar for a background, mighty bulldozers based on the K-700 tractor looked like toys....

"We can shelter 90,000 tons of raw sugar in this hangar. Soon we will be putting another one into operation," said Luis Jimenez, economist of the "Tricontinental." "Ours is the largest of seven such enterprises. Two million tons of sugar from four provinces pass through its warehouses in a year. Since 1967 we have sent out 35 million tons in all. We fill a ship with a cargo capacity of 20,000 tons in 24 hours...."

I believe I do not need to mention that after its revolution (and up to the present), Cuba was subjected to a blockade by the United States and its partners. At first the main form of pressure was a full embargo on trade, and later it was a lopsided economic exchange and a protectionist price policy. The USSR and the member countries of CEMA came to Cuba's aid. They help for the most part by purchasing the country's chief export product—sugar. And the negotiated prices are two to four times higher than world prices.

There is much discussion of this fact in the press lately, including the Soviet press. One may agree that the increased price for Soviet oil respective to world prices that Cuba has negotiated far from makes up for our expenses for sugar, but one may not say that Cuba would not have taken part in mutually profitable world trade but for the USSR and CEMA. Some say that it has nothing to sell and nothing with which to buy. This frivolous assertion is, to say the least, far-fetched.

Despite all the obstacles placed by the United States, such countries as Spain, Japan, the FRG, Italy, France, the United Kingdom, Canada, as well as China, Yugoslavia, and the countries of Africa and Latin America trade with Cuba. Even the U.S. Government, while trying to put a good face on a bad situation and officially not repealing the embargo, handed out about 200 licenses to conduct trade with Cuba (true, only via their international branches!) to such major American companies as "Dupont," "Dow," "Monsanto," "Union Carbide," "General Motors," "Goodyear," "Johnson and Johnson," "Cargil," "Eli Lilley," "Firestone," and others. However this method of conducting trade does not completely suit U.S. businessmen because it is inefficient and entails additional expenses.

Lately American business has been putting great pressure on the White House and demanding the repeal of the prohibition on trade with Cuba. There are impressive reasons for this. But the one the businessmen understand best is that over the first 25 years of the embargo American companies have suffered losses worth almost $30 billion.

But let us return to Cuba's sugar industry. As we talk about it, we do not forget that serious fluctuations in the price of sugar have been observed on the world market recently. In 1970 an English pound only cost 3.7 American cents, and in 1974 a pound was worth 29.7 cents. Or, on the contrary, in 1980 a pound of sugar cost 28.5 cents and in 1985 its price fell to 4 cents. Lately the prices have shown a tendency to rise, but no one can say what they will be tomorrow. And so it is a risky business to rely on good luck. Cuba, apparently, is acting wisely by orienting itself more toward organized, well-deferred production than toward making a quick profit as a result of a market increase in prices. With 157 sugar factories, it is building new complexes using modern equipment in order to have the opportunity to combat the aforementioned fluctuations in the world market.

Special attention is being devoted to the heart of processing the sugar cane, which will give them to opportunity to receive not only sugar from it but a whole gamut of products for the needs of animal husbandry, pharmaceuticals, construction, and the food, chemical, and paper industries....

The salty sweat on the sugar plantations should be paid for in full.

Supreme Soviet Session

Press, Media Law To Come Into Force 1 Aug

PM2106140190 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 21 Jun 90 Morning Edition p 3

["USSR Supreme Soviet Resolution on Bringing Into Force the USSR Law 'On the Press and Other Mass Information Media'"—IZVESTIYA headline]

[Text] Following the adoption of the USSR Law "On the Press and Other Mass Information Media" the USSR Supreme Soviet resolves:

1. To bring the USSR Law "On the Press and Other Mass Information Media" into force as of 1 August 1990.

2. To lay down that the provisions on registration of mass information media contained in Articles 8 and 9 of the aforementioned law apply to mass information media created prior to the present law coming into force. The mass information media in question are liable to register by 1 January 1991. A mass information medium is not liable to register on the grounds stated in Article 11 of the present law.

3. The USSR Council of Ministers:

must specify by 1 August 1990 the circle of organs empowered to register mass information media aimed at unionwide public, the amounts of fees for the issuing of registration certificates to mass information media in question, and the procedure for collecting them;

in the course of 1990 it must:

prepare and submit to the USSR Supreme Soviet draft laws regulating questions concerning the safeguarding of state and other secrets, and the activity of individual mass information media including television and radio;

submit to the USSR Supreme Soviet proposals on questions concerning the improvement of publishing activity; elaborate additional measures for the material and technical backup of the production and publication of printed matter and the protection of subscribers' interests;

bring the USSR Government's decisions in line with the USSR Law "On the Press and Other Mass Information Media."

4. The USSR Supreme Soviet Committee for Questions of Glasnost and Citizens' Rights and Appeals and the USSR Supreme Soviet Committee for Science, Public Education, Culture, and Upbringing must prepare and submit to the USSR Supreme Soviet by 1 January 1991 a draft law regulating the citizens' right to information.

5. The Supreme Soviets of union and autonomous republics must bring union and autonomous republic legislations in line with the USSR Law "On the Press and Other Mass Information Media."

[Signed] A. Lukyanov, chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet
Moscow, The Kremlin, 12 June 1990.

Fundamentals of Civil Legislation Amendment Shown

PM2106142590 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 21 Jun 90 Morning Edition p 3

[Resolution on "USSR Law On the Introduction of Certain Amendments to the Fundamentals of Civil Legislation of the USSR and Union Republics"]

[Text] The USSR Supreme Soviet resolves:

Following the adoption of the USSR Law "On the Press and Other Mass Information Media," to introduce amendments to the Fundamentals of Civil Legislation of the USSR and Union Republics ratified by a USSR Law dated 8 December 1961 (VEDOMOSTI VERKHOVNOGO SOVETA SSSR, 1961, issue No. 50, p 525; 1981, issue No. 44, p 1184), making Article 7 read as follows:

"Article 7. Protection of honor and dignity"

"A citizen or an organization has the right to request through the court the refutation of reports defaming his or its honor and dignity unless the publisher of such reports proves that they conform with reality."

"If reports which do not conform with reality and defame the honor and dignity of a citizen or organization have been disseminated through mass information media, they must be refuted in the same mass information media."

"If information which does not conform with reality and defames a citizen's honor and dignity is contained in a document originating from an organization, such a document should be replaced."

"The procedure for refuting defamatory information in other cases will be determined by the court."

"A citizen or organization being the object of information published by mass information media which infringes his or its rights and legitimate interests has the right to have his or its reply published in the same mass information media."

"The demand by a citizen or an organization to have a refutation or reply published in a mass information medium is examined by the court in the event that the mass information organ either refused to publish or failed to publish within one month."

"If the court's decision is not obeyed, the court is empowered to impose a fine on the violator, payable into state revenues. The fine is imposed according to procedures and size as laid down by civil procedural legislation. Payment of the fine does not relieve the violator of his obligation to perform the action specified by the court."

[Signed] M.S. Gorbachev, president of the USSR
Moscow, The Kremlin, 12 June 1990.

Political & Social

Maslyukov Heads Regulated Market Economic Group

LD2106211690 Moscow TASS in English 1911 GMT 21 Jun 90

[Text] Moscow June 21 TASS—The commission on a regulated market economy has been set up to prepare a draft programme to formulate the structure and mechanism of a regulated market economy. The draft is to be prepared and submitted to the government by August 15.

The commission, headed by Soviet First Deputy Prime Minister Yuriy Maslyukov, is instructed to coordinate all work on the transition to a regulated market economy, define the plan for such a transition with due account of recommendations elaborated by Union and autonomous republics' parliaments and proposals made at the third session of the Soviet parliament.

The commission will discuss and introduce bills, necessary to ensure legal and economic conditions for a transition, to the Soviet Government and work out draft president decrees and Soviet Government decisions on the realisation of legislative acts connected with carrying out the economic reform.

The tasks were set by the decision of the Soviet Government on measures to carry out the Soviet parliament's resolution of June 13, 1990 on the plan for a transition to a regulated market economy in the Soviet Union.

The government considered it necessary to set up a commission of economists, heads of enterprises, representatives of associations, unions and other public organisations to assess alternative variants of a transition to a regulated market economy. The commission is instructed to submit its conclusions on alternative variants to the Soviet Government in July 1990.

The decision instructs Soviet ministries and departments to prepare specifications to proposals on new approaches to financial and credit policy, new prices policy and changes in the structure of Soviet economic managing bodies by July 15, 1990.

A forecast of social and economic aftermaths of a transition to market relations will also be elaborated and submitted by July 15.

KGB Issues Statement on Kalugin's Remarks

LD2206100490 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 0922 GMT 22 Jun 90

[Text] Moscow, 22 Jun (TASS)—We transmit an official statement by the USSR State Security Committee (the KGB):

"The KGB of the USSR regard with utmost gravity a number of interviews given by reserve Major General Kalugin, a former KGB employee. These interviews have been published in some Moscow publications, were put out in radio broadcasts, and they also appeared in the foreign media. Kalugin's character is well known to us. The statements he has taken the liberty of making, containing crude distortions and attacks on the work of the present state security bodies, logically stem from his actions and conduct during his work for the KGB.

"Nevertheless, Kalugin's appraisal of the state security bodies as an organization of political investigations, his accusations that they have perpetrated criminal actions compel one to reflect on the goals of the author.

"The KGB resolutely rejects Kalugin's assertions and expresses indignation at the fact that he has insulted the professional integrity and personal dignity of those who work for the KGB of the USSR. After all, he does know that they are acting strictly within the framework of the existing laws, waging complex struggle in the interests of our country's security.

"One's knowledge of Kalugin's personal qualities leaves no doubt that, having embarked on a path of "sensationalist" public statements, he has decided to start a new, "political" career and, to this end, to make use of domestic and foreign mass media. Evidently Kalugin has deemed the situation to be favorable for this.

"One can discern in the publications a clear attempt to mislead public opinion, to cast a shadow on the process of perestroyka within the KGB's bodies, to exert a negative influence on the ties between the Chekists and the working people which, thanks to the democratization and glasnost in our society, have tangibly developed and gained in strength.

"The KGB of the USSR will make an all-round apraisal of Kalugin's statements.

[Signed] "The Center for Public Relations of the KGB of the USSR".

Reportage on Run-up to 28th CPSU Congress

Frolov Chairs Meeting

PM2106142890 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 19 Jun 90 Second Edition p 2

[Unattributed report: "Meeting Held"]

[Text] Yesterday another precongress meeting was held at PRAVDA—with women. Taking part were: N. Gvozdeva, brick maker at a ceramics plant (Golitsyno, Moscow Oblast); N. Kislova, first secretary of Sverdlovskiy CPSU Raykom [rayon committee] (Moscow); G. Mamrovskaya, chief artist at the "Snezhnika" Association (Vologda); O. Bessolova, engineer and cochairman of a women's political club (Zhukovskiy, Moscow Oblast); R. Khudyakova, kolkhoz [collective farm] member, heroine mother, and member of a rayon

women's council (Rostov Oblast); S. Goryacheva, deputy chairman of the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic Supreme Soviet (Maritime Kray); G. Osadchaya, senior teacher at the Higher Party School (Moscow); L. Kuznetsova, writer and journalist (Moscow); R. Ubaydulayeva, USSR people's deputy, deputy chairman of the Soviet of the Union Committee for Questions of Labor, Prices, and Social Policy, and doctor of economic sciences (Tashkent); and Z. Dragunkina, deputy chairman of the board of the Lenin Soviet Children's Fund.

The meeting was conducted by I. Frolov, secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and chief editor of PRAVDA. A reportage on the meeting will be published.

Democratic Platform Tactics Planned

PM2106151390 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 19 Jun 90 First Edition p 3

[Correspondents Captain First Rank V. Lukashevich and Lieutenant Colonel S. Pashayev report: "Room for Maneuver"]

[Text] In defining a package of documents for the 28th CPSU Congress, the participants in the Second All-Union "Democratic Platform in the CPSU" Conference have left room for maneuver.

The capital's "Oktyabr" movie theater and concert hall. The conference of Democratic Platform supporters which brought 877 delegates together here from 12 of the country's republics and 65 of its krays and oblasts, lasted for two days. The delegates included 18 USSR people's deputies, 40 delegates to the 28th CPSU Congress, 59 workers, and one agricultural worker. It was possible to come across people in military uniform in the auditorium as well, and we naturally could not help paying attention to them. What brought them to the capital? Here is what Medical Services Major S.I. Pakhomov told us in reply to this question:

"I am from the Gorkiy Party Club, on an official trip at the moment. I was brought to the conference by my convictions; I am a Democratic Platform supporter."

[Correspondents] "What hopes are you pinning on this conference?"

[Pakhomov] "I hope that on the basis of 'the Democratic Platform', a party of democratic socialism, a party of the parliamentary persuasion will be formed."

And here is what Captain P.I. Korol told us:

"I am a professional political worker, a propagandist, and I work in the Moscow area. I came to the conference in order to discover first hand, as they say, what the Democratic Platform is. And I also wanted to express here my views about the CPSU and the reform of the political organs."

Conference delegates gathered in Moscow on the eve of the 28th CPSU Congress in order to refine their platform (it has been published in PRAVDA), discuss the situation prevailing in the party and the country, and adopt a number of resolutions and other documents.

Two supplementary reports (and four delegates spoke for 20 minutes each) were devoted mainly to Democratic Platform tactics in relations with the CPSU. Speaking first, V.N. Lysenko, member of the coordinating council, noted that "January's 'platform' was outdated on a whole series of standpoints, and it will be developed at the conference"; true, he did not describe these standpoints in detail, but he drew attention to the fact that two wings exist in the Democratic Platform: "the more radical, left wing," of which Chubays was the ideological head, and "the recently affiliated moderate wing." But it quickly became clear that another wing exists as well—the "extreme right," whose "interests" were defended by V.S. Lepitskiy.

The difference in standpoints is very substantial indeed. I.B. Chubays, for example, stated that "we may go to the 28th CPSU Congress not in order to argue but in order to slam the door." The aforementioned Lepitskiy; V.N. Shostakovskiy, rector of the Moscow Higher Party School; and some other delegates disagreed with him.

Unfortunately the elaboration of unified approaches with the CPSU on getting the country out of the existing crisis and consolidating society, which today requires the unification of its efforts, was discussed least of all at the conference. Indeed, how was it possible to speak of any sort of consolidation, when the hall greeted with stormy applause the attack on the CPSU by the aforeentioned Chubays, who was recently expelled from the party: "The CPSU is not reformable, not renewable, just as the gas chamber, the guillotine, or the torture chamber is not renewable."

A virtually unlimited amount of time was allotted to the "exposure" speech of General O.D. Kalugin, retired, a former KGB staffer. A woman journalist sitting next to us neatly characterized this "broadcast": "He washed someone else's dirty linen, and picked up applause for doing it."

Incidentally, more than 200 correspondents (80 of whom were foreign correspondents) were accredited to the conference. Television journalists from Britain, managing to grasp the gist of things "at first glance," as they say, addressed the question to Shostakovskiy: "Why are the delegates not concerned about the economic situation in the country?" To which Vyacheslav Nikolayevich replied: "It is too early to talkk about an economic reform program of our own, since we are not an autonomous party." Does this mean that they are willing to sat anything at all about the CPSU, to which the Democratic Platform belongs, but there is no concern about how to help the country?

After a joint session on Saturday, discussions were continued in sections. And the conference finished its work late Sunday evening.

It appeared that the dissenting opinions would make it impossible for the meeting participants to fix their position, reach an agreement, and formulate and adopt an unambiguous decision. But nonetheless a consensus was achieved. Tactics for action both on the threshold of the 28th CPSU Congress and at the congress itself were defined, and a general policy resolution and a number of other documents were adopted. True, what went unheard was the opinion of around 200 participants that a position must be taken on the substance of the "democratic socialism" formula identified as the political goal of Democratic Platform supporters, but these as they say, are details.

One of the central formulas of the general policy resolution was amended as a result of stormy disputes. The initial idea contained in the draft—to go to the congress with an ultimatum and, if that was rejected, "to give the coordinating council, in combination with the congress delegates who are Democratic Platform supporters the right, after assessing the results of the congress, to make an appropriate statement, and launch the preparation for the founding congress of a new party"—was rejected. The formula became more streamlined and diplomatic, opening up room for political maneuver: to grant the coordinating council in combination with congress delegates who are DP supporters the right, assessing the pace of the congress' work, to determine the tactics for the Democratic Platform delegation's conduct at the congress in accordance with the Democratic Platform program statement.

This step might have been called a compromise, if the idea had not been heard so persistently both before and after it was taken: The "democrats'" demands will in any case be rejected, and the question of secession, breakaway, and so forth, is already predetermined. In this connection the details connected in particular with the transfer of party subscriptions, the election of delegates to the founding conference of the new party, and so forth were also stipulated.

What then are the demands that Democratic Platofrm supporters are presenting to the country's communists? Above all they comprise the rejection of the monopoly of a single ideology in the party; the rejection of communism as the CPSU's goal (at the same time changing the party's name); a rejection of the monopoly on power and on the mass media; the dismantling of the party's organizational bases (the principles of democratic centralism, the territorial production and unitary principles of the party set-up, and so forth) and of the nomenklatura system. The aim is the formation of a democratic party of the parliamentary type on principles of panhuman interests and values, the rights and freedoms of the individual, intraparty pluralism, and the recognition of the supremacy of the law and the will of the electorate. At the conference the decision was adopted to transform the "Democratic Platform in the CPSU" into a federative structure, since it has already developed its own factions and trends.

The "democrats" proposed holding the Russian party conference as a preliminary to the founding congress of a party of RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic] communists; discussing at that conference the basic outlines for setting up the new party and electing an organizational committee on principles of parity; and holding an all-Russian party referendum after the 28th CPSU Congress in order for Russia's communists to determine for themselves what kind of party they need.

There was insufficient time to discuss questions concerning the army. True, a raw, "rough" version of a statement concerning the "position in the USSR Armed Forces, KGB, and MVD [Ministry of Internal Affairs]," after an emotional appeal by conference guest USSR People's Deputy Major V. Lopatin, was nonetheless ratified. Without being studied or discussed. It deals in particular with the depoliticization and deideoligization of all state institutions, including the army and the law-enforcement organs.

So will Democratic Platform supporters slam the door at the congress, or not? There is every indication that each delegate will adopt a decision on this matter independently.

Democratic Platform on Strategy

WA2106184190 Moscow SOBESEDNIK in Russian No 23, Jun 90 p 3

[Interview with "Democratic Platform" Coordinating Council members by SOBESEDNIK special correspondent Mikhail Sokolov; date and place not specified: "Is It Dangerous To Stand on the Edge of a Platform?"]

[Text] *There is much talk currently about it being necessary "to save the party." We believe that if there is anything to be saved it is primarily the country, which has found itself in a situation of profound socioeconomic crisis. But this will be impossible without a change in the role of the present pivot of power—the CPSU. It is hard to foretell how this will happen: through the self-reformation of the party, the creation outside it of competitive political associations, or through a division of the CPSU? All these processes are currently occurring in parallel, it would seem. What is clear now, however, is that the fate of the reforms will depend to a considerable extent not only on the position of the CPSU leadership but also on how the first structure in it of a factional type since the 1920's—the "Democratic Platform in the CPSU," which was formed this January—will act. Its leaders have proposed a program of conversion of the CPSU into a parliamentary-type party. The debate surrounding the "Democratic Platform" documents, the publication of the CPSU Central Committee Open Letter, which condemned the activity of the "factionalists," and the sequence of hasty, simply outrageous expulsions from the party of a number of "Democratic Platform" activists have exacerbated the precongress debate and the course of elections to the 28th CPSU Congress. What position will the "Democratic Platform" adopt? In the course of preparation for the "Democratic Platform" conference (which will take place*

16-17 June in Moscow) our correspondent met with members of the "Democratic Platform" Coordinating Council and asked them to describe the Communist reformers' intentions.

Igor Yakovenko, sociologist and senior lecturer at the Moscow Higher Party School:

I would like to give merely some information for reflection—the results of a spring all-Union public opinion poll, which encompassed Moscow, Leningrad, and a number of regions of Siberia, the Urals, and the Ukraine—not only large cities but also rayon centers and rural localities.

Up to 40 percent of communists support the "Democratic Platform," 24 percent, the platform of the Central Committee, from three to four percent, the Marxist platform.

The differentiation is very high: In Leningrad a positive attitude toward the "Democratic Platform" is displayed by up to 60 percent of communists, but practically none of them are in the countryside. The intelligentsia, engineering-technical personnel, and employees constitute the vast majority of "Democratic Platform" supporters. Workers, four to five percent.

The attitude toward the CPSU Central Committee Open Letter is as follows: 68 percent consider its publication a mistake, only nine percent approve. Among supporters of the "Democratic Platform," three percent advocate immediate withdrawal from the CPSU, 34 percent allow of the possibility of their remaining in the party even after the 28th CPSU Congress, and 47 percent will make a decision on membership of the CPSU in the course of the congress.

According to the data of our poll, it may be concluded that the most attractive thing for our supporters would be a general democratic name of a new party of the "people's democracy" or popular-democratic type.

Vasiliy Shakhnovskiy, deputy of the Moscow City Soviet:

I believe that what would be most acceptable to the country would be a stage of the existence of the "Democratic Platform" as an organizationally structured faction within the CPSU. It would be useful for the gradual development of the process of democratization—mechanisms for the realization of a multiparty system are still lacking, and many people have not determined their positions politically. The rapid emergence of several parties could add a new twist to the spiral of the growth of tension. But the situation in the country affords no realistic chance of such development. For me personally the turning point was the CPSU Central Committee February (1990) Plenum, at which I, together with V. Lysenko, coordinator of the "Democratic Platform," was present as a guest. I saw for myself that the present leadership of the CPSU is not taking the path of realistic compromise. All the changes to the proposed documents made them more conservative and to stormy applause the drafts incorporated both democratic centralism and the "building of communism." The speeches of inveterate conservatives were met with ovations. In a word, the constructiveness of the plenum was extremely low. Despite our requests, the plenum voted against allowing us to speak. The opportunity for the upcoming CPSU congress to contain consolidating potential was lost: Our proposal that its preparation be entrusted not to the apparatus but an independent organizing committee whose composition reflected the whole spectrum of opinions which exist in the party was not realized.

I am now sure of the inevitability of the division of the CPSU, but, for all that, the final decision on our strategy and tactics will be up to the all-Union conference of supporters of the "Democratic Platform."

Telman Gdlyan, people's deputy of the USSR:

It is naive to suppose that the upcoming 28th CPSU Congress will radically change our political institutions and proclaim democratic reforms. I put those who believe in this miracle in the naive category. I believe that the reactionary pro-Ligachev apparatus, which has seized power in the CPSU, has no intention of giving it up. The congress could become a routine political show. This is why, from my viewpoint, there can be no question of the "Democratic Platform's" participation in the 28th congress. I part company here with those who consider using its rostrum possible. What would be changed by the fact that two or three of our supporters were called to speak? After all, a whole cartridge case of prepared delegates would then be clipped in to defame them. We would thus not only not be in a position to carry the majority with us but would not even be capable of calmly and cogently defending our position.

What is the solution? It amounts to the "Democratic Platform" holding its first congress. It would be the beginning of the building of a powerful new force in opposition to the conservative leaders. Letting go of the initiative now, we will lose. We should take as the basis of our program the platform of the Interregional Group of Deputies and the documents of the "Democratic Platform" and form our own powerful information center, newspaper, and apparatus—there's no need to wince at this word: Only a well-organized structure capable of doing the heavy work also can confront the CPSU. Strong contacts with the democratic youth movement are needed also.

I would like to speak openly about what will make the CPSU leadership furious: proportionate to the number of our communist supporters, we will raise the question of a division of property: buildings, transportation, publishing capacity. If this legitimate demand is not met, we will call on the soviets to nationalize all the property of the CPSU.

I would answer briefly the charges of division leveled at the "Democratic Platform": it has already occurred. Hundreds of thousands of communists do not wish to be

in the same party as Ligachev and company and those who are responsible for the criminal policy of the party apparatus. What is happening is only the legal structuring of the actual demarcation that exists in reality.

We are for consolidation. But of the healthy forces of society. This is the main thing. And formally here we are together with Gorbachev. But we essentially have a different approach: We are not only declaring this goal but acting also. Only the unification of all supporters of perestroyka on a democratic platform, and not an alliance with just anyone, can ensure the peaceful development of the reforms and spare the country violence, which the administrative-command system, which is in its death throes, threatens.

Mikhail Kobrin, commentator and chief editor of the newspaper DEMOKRATICHESKAYA PLATFORMA:

First, we should not be playing at orthodox virginity: Our platform is not based on a revival within the CPSU of social democratic ideals. Second, we should clearly recognize that the 25-40 percent of communists who, to judge by the polls, are in sympathy with the "Democratic Platform" are extremely heterogeneous. One group, seeing our platform and that of the Central Committee, votes for ours to improve the platform of the Central Committee and the CPSU as a whole. Others naively suppose that, despite the pressure of the apparatus, the supporters of the "Democratic Platform" will be able to gain a majority at the 28th CPSU Congress, remove the conservatives from power, and begin the process of its renewal. Yet a third group are the radical realists, who have recognized that it is necessary to quit the CPSU and create a new democratic party, hardly a big one in terms of numbers, capable of accomplishing its goals in the soviets of all levels.

Each instance of procrastination compromises us. How is it possible to stick to the old positions when the percentage of those trusting the CPSU has fallen to an unprecedentedly low level and when only three or four percent of party members believe in mankind's communist future? We cannot, I believe, become involved in apparatus-party games. This was not why we formed the "Democratic Platform." We have to offer people who follow us attractive goals and devise profound program documents on the most important problems of the economy, policy, and international relations. This is the task of our conference.

Boris Yeltsin, chairman of the RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic] Supreme Soviet and member of CPSU Central Committee:

The CPSU Central Committee Open Letter was geared to having the "Democratic Platform" react sharply to it. The people there are hotheads, will become incensed, and will hand in their party cards. This document is immoral in essence: We were first enticed into a discussion, and then, let's expel them from the party. These expulsions also are aimed at those with weak nerves, so that others leave the party of their own accord. But this plan has failed.

I will speak for my own part: Several crude, simply impudent, methods have been employed in respect of me also to ensure that I myself quit the Central Committee. But I have no wish to quit the Central Committee until the time is right. I should in the meantime be there to express my position, which is at odds with the majority. Even if 400 vote for, and I am the only one against. This has an echo.

Now also we must recognize what kind of echo the speeches of our supporters at the 28th congress will have. Of course, the time for demarcation has come. Abrupt and quite dynamic. Not by millimeters, but fundamental, political demarcation. This should not be done in turmoil. We need to prepare for it in earnest, preserving all our supporters: those who will be our delegates there and propagandists of the "Democratic Platform's" ideas also. Of course, they will have no majority. But they will have their say. And they will be heard. The Central Committee should understand that unless there is a radical renewal of the CPSU at the congress, a new democratic party will be created based on the "Democratic Platform," evidently.

Vladimir Lysenko, people's deputy of the RSFSR and delegate to the 28th CPSU Congress:

The Central Committee February Plenum offered a draft Platform and Rules of the CPSU which preserve it in the form of the former vanguard-type party. A mass transplanting of apparatchiks in soviet chairs and the merger of party and state structures began following the elections. The decision to farm out to the oblast party committees the creation of a mechanism for elections to the congress left no hope of the makeup of delegates adequately reflecting the correlation of forces in the primary party organizations. Even in Moscow every conceivable manipulation in "carving up" the districts has been implemented: In my Leningradskiy Rayon the democratically minded organizations of higher educational institutions and enterprises were merged in one district, while the remaining seats were distributed among schools, building operation boards, and restaurants, where the party list constituted the candidates.

Nor was the expectation of finding support in the "upper strata" of the CPSU and beginning the transformation of the CPSU top and bottom confirmed. All the words about democratization remained on paper, and in place of reforms we received the Central Committee Open Letter....

Demarcation in the CPSU is becoming inevitable. Such is the opinion of the majority on the "Democratic Platform" Coordinating Council. The argument is only about when the division should occur. The radicals are acting, creating a new party. The second viewpoint, to which I also adhere, is that quitting now would be politically harmful. The Central Committee letter has

not brought about a mass departure from the party. But the purge campaign has failed also. Public opinion is on our side. The conservatives have not succeeded in provoking the premature withdrawal of reformers from the CPSU and decapitating our movement. We should not now be creating just another new small party, which would not be able to really compete with the CPSU apparatus. We should avail ourselves of the rostrum of the 28th congress and support our comrade delegates, knowing in advance that we will be in the minority and that we will not win over the congress. Only in a situation where our ideas have been rejected should we declare the fact of separation from the CPSU. It will be of decisive significance for the fate of the country.

Igor Chubays, senior lecturer at the State Institute of Theatrical Art:

The political situation in the country is becoming increasingly radical. Almost half a million persons have left the ranks of the CPSU, and the gap between the party and the people is increasing. In this situation it cannot be said that people are not mature, that they are not ready to support us. A powerful argument against a demarcation in the party is the fact that it is the pivotal cementing structure of the machinery of state. Had we called for demarcation two years ago, this could have led to chaos. But after the elections to the soviets, when capable local authorities have been created at all levels, this process ceases to be a danger for the country.

There is the following viewpoint also: It is necessary to improve the party and struggle to win over the congress. I believe that this line leads nowhere: The congress will resolve nothing inasmuch as there is, has been, and will continue to be the apparatus, on whose power none of the present CPSU leadership is encroaching. Where would we be headed, for what would we be working? I fear that we would fall into a trap. If I were an apparatchik I would operate gracefully: Some I would knock down immediately, with others I would temporize and would send to their conference the known liberal A.N. Yakovlev, who would talk with them in paternal manner, yet others I would elect to the Central Committee even: They would be rolled into the new system and would calm down....

There is in the "Democratic Platform" also the line of the Moscow Party Club, which has called upon the communists to stop paying membership dues, begin to withdraw from the CPSU, and set about the creation of a party on a democratic platform. This course is being supported by nonparty persons who sympathize with us. But the congress.... It is of no interest to many communists even. Participating in it would mean working to advertise a dying party. Our country and our people have lived for decades outside of history, outside of commonsense, outside of morality, outside of traditions of European civilization. We should now be doing everything for a return to sinful soil. We criticize Gorbachev in many particulars, but on the main thing we are at one: We need to build our European home. So the creation of a party of a general democratic thrust, given the support of its independently minded communists, would help us approach realization of this goal.

Vyacheslav Shostakovskiy, rector of the Moscow Higher Party School:

A basic feature of Bolshevism is revolutionary optimism and impatience and a reluctance to come to terms with reality, with historical conditions, and with people's interests. I would not want history to repeat itself thanks to us. We could very quickly find ourselves in an unexpected situation: The danger from the right is growing, and the consolidation of the conservatives in the apparatus, national patriots, and a certain section of the party continues. We are seeing attempts to bring the situation in the country to a state of emergency. We do not like to think about the fact that, given preservation of the old structures, increasingly new dwarf parties could under the conditions of a presidency easily be closed down. And then, if a party is created, on the basis of what law, where would it be registered and on what conditions? No one is currently providing an answer to this question.

It needs to be said honestly that we are not currently ready to form such a powerful bloc as the right. We are not ready to consolidate. We know only how to break off relations.

It seems to me that the process could move along two channels. Let those who wish work in a Russian Democratic Party. But as for me, something else is more important—the fate of hundreds of thousands of people who have acquired from us a different orientation. They should not be disoriented by ultra-revolutionary leaps.

And the main reason why I do not accept the idea of the hasty creation of a new party. It could prove to be the same as the CPSU—laying claim to doing everything and deciding everything for everyone. We do not need such a party. We already have one. We need a party which is fundamentally renewed.

So on one platform there have been revealed today two. But the supporters of the two tactics from the "Democratic Platform" here are united in what is most important: It is necessary to speed up the democratization of society. But this cannot be said about the CPSU as a whole. The apparatus is threatening the "Democratic Platform," delegates to the Russian Communist Party Congress, the "revisionists" Gorbachev and Yakovlev, and the communist parties of the Baltic republics have split off, forever, evidently. The party as a whole is at a historic fork in the road, and even its continued existence is in doubt. We are far from welcoming an immediate and uncompromising split, but nor can we any longer call for a show of unity for unity's sake and for a preservation of the decorations, which would be followed by a renewal-paralyzing struggle. We are in favor only of the open competition of the new forces coming onto the political scene being a civilized parliamentary struggle for real changes perceived by each of us.

Officers Fired for Backing Platform

PM2106110490 Moscow MOSCOW NEWS in English No 23, 17-24 Jun 90 p 15

[Letter from Captain Andrey Filippov and Senior Lieutenant Sergey Pushkin: "Not To Be Brainwashed"]

[Text] This letter is from two former officers who have been dismissed from the Soviet Armed Forces with incredible speed: within a month. We aren't undisciplined servicemen. But we were put under guard the day after we had been relieved of our duty, which was less than a week before the order for our dismissal arrived.

Our misfortunes began in late December 1989 when we offered, to members of our CPSU organization, to write a letter to the CPSU Central Committee and state our demands, including our wish to discuss the CPSU budget and publish a detailed account of its spending. Other members of our organization backed the idea. But the head of the Political Department of our unit, Khorkov, remarked: "It is not done to put demands to the Central Committee."

But our CPSU organization disagreed with him and mailed the letter.

We had another conflict with Khorkov shorly afterwards, this time about the organization Shield. We were accused of procuring documents issued by this organization and offering them to everyone to read without having first consulted the political department. That was qualified as sedition.

However, our active support for the CPSU Democratic Platform was our biggest "crime". The commander of the military unit offered us a posting elsewhere, beyond the Urals, despite the fact that earlier the commander had refused to allow one of us be posted as representative of the USSR Ministry of Defence at a plant making military equipment in Leningrad and the other to be sent to do postgraduate study at a military academy, saying we were indispensable to the unit and irreplaceable at our present posts.

Now Col. Rubtsov, who decided we should be sent elsewhere, says we are to go to as remote a station as possible, where we can be brainwashed as follows.

We refused to be brainwashed and handed in our applications for dismissal on political grounds.

April 16, we were summoned to Col-Gen. Voldemar Kraskovskiy. Having learned our views-on the development of the CPSU From us he simply ordered us to return our passes and our pistols. The reason was our siding with the Democratic Platform rather than with the CPSU Platform. We were immediately discharged from our posts and disarmed. On the next day we were arrested—isolated from the rest of the world so they could not hear our complaints.

While kept under guard, we were nominated delegates to the CPSU conference of our military unit. Incidentally, this conference was the venue for lots of interesting events. Now we are primarily worried about the fact that Comrade Khorkov (candidate to the 28th CPSU Congress) has launched a regular "witch-hunt" and calls the subunit where we were posted a "hotbed of dissidents".

So who is really not keeping step with the times: the unit's staff or the political department?

Respectfully yours,

Captain Andrey Filippov, Senior Lieutenant Sergey Pushkin

Desecration of Jewish Graves in Moscow Viewed

Responsible Persons Sought

LD2106143290 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1230 GMT 21 Jun 90

[From the "Television News Service" program]

[Text] [Announcer] You are watching the news. And now it is time for details of the defilement of Jewish graves at the Vagankovskoye cemetery which has angered the whole of Moscow. Unfortunately, such instances are becoming more and more frequent in our country.

[Begin recording] [video shows cemetery and graves defiled with swastikas painted on them] [Unidentified man, interviewed in an office] Criminal proceedings on Article 174 hardly ever used to be instituted, and there's not all that many of them now. In Moscow, I know that this obviously will be only the second or the third case. However, we want very much to find those responsible. In this respect we are working purposefully and we have the forces, and what is most important, we have a concrete formation. I cannot speak of it yet. We are working on it and we are confident that we will be able to find those responsible and raise the question of bringing them to book. [end recording]

Details Revealed

PM2106115490 Moscow MOSCOW NEWS in English No 24, 24 Jun-1 Jul 90 p 2

[Unattributed "Moscow Diary" feature]

[Excerpt] [passage omitted]

Unknown anti-Semites have desecrated Jewish graves at the Vagankovo cemetery in Moscow by painting white swastikas on about 20 gravestones bearing names they thought to be Jewish. The vandals didn't stop at that. They also smeared trees, pillars, signs and fences.

According to Vladimir Steshin, the cemetery's director, the local militia had been informed about the possibility of such barbarous acts. When interviewed by MN, Vladimir Chasovnikov, deputy head of the 11th militia station, said they had not taken the warning seriously.

On instruction from cemetery authorities some of the swastikas have been painted over. But almost half of them remain, because the paint (nitrocellulose enamel) can't even be removed with acetone. the militia officials are disturbed because no complaints have been sent from relatives of those buried there. Says Chasovnikov: "It seems they just don't care."

The morning after the desecration, a militia patrol examined the graves, but the investigators didn't seem to be concerned. No legal proceedings have been started since technically no crime has been committed. According to Article 229 of the Russian Federation's Criminal code, a grave is considered desecrated only if something has been stolen from it. Hence, painting swastikas on graves is not yet a crime!

Lizichev Addresses Army Party Conference

PM1406120090 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 13 Jun 90 First Edition p 2

[KRASNAYA ZVEZDA correspondent Lieutenant Colonel V. Semenov report: "Looking Into the Future: From the Party Conference of USSR Defense Ministry Main and Central Directorates and the Soviet Army and Navy Main Political Directorate"]

[Text] Revolutionary perestroyka has entered a decisive phase in its development. Fundamental changes in the economy, the political process, and the federation are already becoming clearly defined. Profound changes are under way in the party. In connection with the transfer of power functions to the soviets, the CPSU's role in society's life is changing. At present a task of statewide significance is being resolved—the implementation of military reform.

Radical transformations of the system of party political work are particularly relevant in the context of these developments, which are truly without precedent in terms of novelty and scale. And, with every justification, the attention of the conference delegates was focused on the question of the new role and place of political organs and party organizations in the Armed Forces' life and activity. Here it is very important, in the light of the provisions of the draft CPSU Central Committee Platform, the draft party Statutes, and the Central Committee Open Letter to the Country's Communists, to define the most effective, up-to-date approaches, paths, and practical actions.

Delivering the report at the conference, Army General A. Lizichev, chief of the Soviet Army and Navy Main Political Directorate and delegate to the 28th CPSU Congress, said:

"Our party conference in effect concludes the report and election campaign in army and navy party organizations. For two and a half months more than a million Army communists have been painstakingly analyzing and evaluating the activity of party committees and bureaus and political organs. It is important to stress that all Army and Navy communists approve and support the draft Central Committee Platform and the draft CPSU Statutes and associate the preparations for the 28th congress with an activation of the process of profound renewal of the party, taking into account its new role as society's political vanguard at a crucial stage of perestroyka."

Army Gen. A. Lizichev focused the attention of the conference participants on concrete observations and proposals on the structure of the precongress documents, the formulation of individual problems, and the main contentious issues. The most active discussion in Army and Navy party organizations has developed over Sections 1 and 7 of the Platform, which deal with the meaning of perestroyka and the party's renewal. And, of course, over defense problems, which are set forth in Section 4.

The prevailing opinion is that the party should clearly state the communist future to be its ultimate goal and declare its loyalty to Marxism-Leninism as the theoretical basis of its policy.

It is proposed that the platform should set forth the main features of democratic, humane socialism and clarify the social, political, economic, spiritual, and legal foundations of the society the party seeks to build.

In the final stage of discussion of the platform, various approaches emerged as regards the prospects of a market economy. The majority agrees that the market is necessary in order to stimulate production. But at the same time it is necessary to ensure reliable guarantees of the well-being of all working people, including servicemen, at least for the transitional period.

The debate on the draft new CPSU Statutes was particularly heated. The Main Political Directorate examined the draft statutes on four occasions, and on each occasion it sought persistently to incorporate in its text norms of party building that would make the party a democratic organism that is at the same time united and capable of political action. The majority of Army communists gave a high assessment of the draft statutes.

At the same time they insistently uphold the need unequivocally to emphasize in the Statutes the party's ideological and political foundations and strategic goals, and to preserve the organizational principles that make it a real political force.

As for the section devoted to the Armed Forces party organizations, the general opinion is that there is no point in extending this, since the section makes provision for the peculiarities of their work to be set forth in a special manual approved by the CPSU Central Committee. After the congress, and only on the basis of its decisions, a major reorganization of political organs is planned within the framework of the military reform.

Army Gen. A. Lizichev dwelt on the priority tasks of perestroyka. Political organs, he stressed, should first

and foremost be relieved of the functions of the leadership of party organizations. Keeping everything as it is means coming into conflict with democratic processes in the party, the party's renunciation of power functions, and the transition to political methods of work. Leadership of party organizations at all levels should be exercised, as the Statutes stipulate, by elected party organs: from the regiment party committee to an All-Army Party Committee operating with the status of a CPSU Central Committee Commission. This approach will make it possible genuinely to distinguish between party functions and administrative and educational functions.

Political organs, it is envisaged, should concentrate their efforts on political, military, moral, and international education. They could be entrusted with organizing the work of the social and psychological service, universal legal education, and cultural enlightenment work. They should offer methodological assistance and bring together the experience of different social structures: officers' assemblies, women's councils, people's control organs, and so forth. Thought must also be given to the mechanism whereby they can influence servicemen's social and legal protection. That is how the prospects for perestroyka appear in this sphere. Naturally, these questions will, as conditions develop, be the subject of wide discussion in political organs and party organizations and also in the military collectives.

Today, now that it is a question of transformations of a revolutionary nature, it is particularly important to preserve the party's ideological and organizational unity and rally around it all the forces that adhere to the positions of the socialist choice.

But perestroyka processes in the party are still complex and contradictory in their development. Aggressive criticism of the CPSU by various groupings engaged in a fierce, open power struggle is being stepped up.

Against this background Army communists greeted with understanding the CPSU Central Committee open letter to the country's communists, "For Consolidation on a Principled Basis." It prompted many meetings of primary organizations to clear the air and dissociate themselves from those who have embarked on a path of conflict with the party and are provoking a split. Fortunately these are only isolated cases in the Army. What is worrying is something else: the ideological vacillations of certain communists and their susceptibility to pseudorevolutionary demagoguery. Some people lack the theoretical maturity and the arguments to find their way among the contradictions of the perestroyka processes in society and the party. The result has been the departure from the CPSU of some of our former party comrades.

Political organs and party organizations must draw serious conclusions, strengthen links with communists, become familiar with the mood, persuade people, educate them, and work to keep ahead, placing the emphasis on developing the traditions of bolshevik comradeship in every way.

Lieutenant Gen. V. Timonin, Colonel Gen. A. Mironov, Col. V. Sukhinin, Col. Gen. D. Volkogonov, Col. A. Yermolayev, Major A. Ledyayev, and others spoke in the debates on the report.

It was stressed in the report and the speeches that in the course of the report and election campaign communists were not satisfied with discussing internal problems, but boldly and extensively tackled partywide, statewide problems.

Our people are concerned about the complex situation in society, the main aspects of foreign policy, the fate of the party and socialism, and the future of our federation.

In Lithuania bourgeois nationalists have taken the upper hand. Estonia and Latvia are moving in the same direction. In some Western oblasts of the Ukraine ardent nationalists have taken over leadership of the soviets. In the Transcaucasus a fratricidal war is being waged, and in a number of regions there is dyarchy.

Many Army and Navy communists expect the CPSU Central Committee to offer a realistic assessment of the political situation and take effective measures, since antisocialist forces are in action in the USSR. And there is a feeling that they are coordinated and have links abroad.

With regard to provisions on the country's defense problems, the communists of the central apparatus, discussing the draft CPSU Platform and Statutes, suggest that the 28th CPSU Congress should adopt a resolution on military matters reflecting an objective analysis of the present military-political situation in the world and political evaluations of the processes taking place in East European countries. The status of the Armed Forces should be clearly defined and the party's military policy at the present stage should be formulated, in the light of the new military doctrine.

Perestroyka has led to major positive shifts in international relations. The new political thinking is winning increasing recognition in the world, and the level of military confrontation is falling. The latest meeting between the presidents of the USSR and the United States considerably advanced the processes of disarmament.

At the same time, it was noted at the conference, we should not plunge into euphoria. The strategic goals of the United States and its allies are in effect remaining unchanged. The distance between word and deed, declarations and real policies remains very considerable.

The communists' main task stems from this—a considered and responsible approach to questions relating to defense and security and the building and training of the Armed Forces in accordance with the directives given by the USSR president, the CPSU Central Committee, and the Congress of USSR People's Deputies.

All communists, being at the forefront of the tasks of military reform, should show particular concern to

ensure that the processes of Armed Forces renewal and disarmament are implemented strictly in line with the principles of equal security and on the basis of the preservation and strengthening of strategic parity, and take full account of the requirements of our military doctrine.

It is fashionable today to describe the management apparatus, including the army apparatus, as conservatives and subject them to unsubstantiated criticism. The idea that all economic and social problems could be resolved at the Army's expense is being stubbornly instilled into public opinion. With no consideration for the actual situation, people propose an immediate switch to a mercenary, professional army and the creation of national formations and preach the need for depoliticization and the [illegible]tion of all political and party structures. Not [illegible]ntly, demands for the further conversion of de[illegible]ors of industry are put forward without considerat[illegible] the interests of defense.

In this connection it is apposite to stress yet again that we are not against criticism. But whatever the heat of passion, communists in the main and central directorates still adhere to positions of realism and are aware of their responsibility for the country's reliable defense capability.

The main stages of conceptual formulation of military reform were identified at the conference. There was a comprehensive analysis of cadre policy, cadre work, and organizational and manning measures. And also of the effectiveness of measures to strengthen military discipline in multinational military collectives over the years of perestroyka.

Within the framework of partywide demands, the report and speeches noted, party political work has been renewed, developing increasingly into a system of continual dialogue with people. This process is gaining strength today. Democratic principles, glasnost, criticism, and self-criticism are developing. A significant statistic: At this year's report and election meetings and conferences nearly seven times more critical comments and proposals were put forward than in the run-up to the 27th CPSU Congress.

Elections to leading party organs were conducted democratically, on a contested basis. In the Army and Navy some 90 percent of secretaries were elected from among two or three candidates, and new comrades who enjoy the communists' confidence were elected to replace the 165 party committee secretaries and 21 party commission secretaries who were voted out. The body of deputies from the Armed Forces to the 28th congress was elected on a contested basis. In total, from the primary organizations up, more than 18,000 communists were in contention for the 269 places.

In the context of the building of a socialist rule-of-law state, energetic work has been launched to renew all defense legislation. In particular, drafts are being drawn up of laws on defense and on the status of servicemen, other legislative acts, and general military regulations. In other words, the legal basis for military reform is being created.

The processes of democratization of military life are deepening. The All-Army Officers' Meeting was an important milestone on this path. The first major steps have also been taken in the social sphere. Military reform is assuming visible form.

People should know, it was noted at the conference, that the initiative for military reform and the formulation of its basic ideas came from the CPSU Central Committee, the Defense Council, and the USSR Defense Ministry, and that the preparation of the reform rests on solid scientific foundations and is being conducted intensively and responsibly, with strict observance of internal and external factors and the requirements arising from the need to ensure peaceful conditions for the transformations in the country.

In the course of preparations for the 28th CPSU Congress Communists, political organs, and party committees must concentrate on resolving the key tasks that are clearly formulated in the USSR defense minister's order and the directive of the defense minister and Main Political Directorate chief for the 1990 training year.

It was noted that army and navy personnel and communists generally seek to meet these demands and show discipline and organization. This is indicated by the fact that combat and political training plans are in the main being fulfilled without a hitch by the units and formations.

At the same time checks on the troops show that in the winter training period the necessary quality of combat training was not achieved. There are other negative features too. Thus the recall of students at higher educational establishments from the Army and Navy had a severe adverse effect on the fulfillment of combat training tasks. The situation in the troops is complicated by the campaign to wreck the spring 1990 draft of young recruits into the troops which is being conducted by destructive elements in a number of regions of the country.

Where should the communists of party organizations now focus their attention? First and foremost the party committees of main and central directorates are called upon to study public opinion and the mood among officer cadres more promptly and in greater depth, and to uncover the reasons for passivity in service and the motivation toward discharge, especially among young officers.

It is necessary to conduct a thorough analysis of the results of the winter training period and the certification of academies and schools and to discuss the effectiveness of the communists' work in accordance with the requirements of orders and directives of the USSR Defense Ministry, the General Staff, and the Main Political Directorate.

Every measure must be adopted to improve the style of activity of communists on the central management apparatus. There are many problems here. This is where the main reasons for shortcomings and omissions in the training of troops and naval forces have their roots. The practice of work among the troops, which still takes the form of official inspections, requires fundamental changes. It is therefore necessary carefully to examine the work methods of every communist and every general and admiral.

Major measures have to be implemented in connection with the withdrawal of troops from Hungary, Czechoslovakia, and Mongolia and the reforming [pereformirovaniye] of a whole series of formations and units. Political organs and party committees of Defense Ministry main and central directorates must do everything, using the political methods that are proper to them, to promote the fulfillment of these tasks, while ensuring particular concern for people.

The real situation among the troops urgently requires an improvement in the mechanism for strengthening military discipline and fulfilling the relevant CPSU Central Committee resolutions and requirements of the USSR defense minister.

Party organizations must decisively boost the organizational role of communist leaders at all levels and their personal role in setting an example, as well as their responsibility for the moral climate, both within the main directorates and sections and in the units under their jurisdiction.

Urgent tasks in the sphere of ideological and party political work were formulated at the party conference.

Perestroyka in the Army and Navy is not achieved simply or easily. communists, it was stressed at the conference, are critically evaluating their every step and measuring themselves against the practical results, and are keenly aware that something that looks acceptable and adequate today could appear obsolete tomorrow. That is the logic of the process of revolutionary renewal of society and the Armed Forces.

The 28th party congress will undoubtedly give a powerful boost to all perestroyka processes. The congress and its decisions will enable everyone to clarify his position and decide for himself how to live and act in future. But for all that, the most important point must be grasped: It is we who advance the ideas of October, the ideas of Lenin, and the interests of the Soviet people and their Armed Forces.

The conference elected delegates to the 28th CPSU Congress.

N. Batarchuk, deputy chief of a subdepartment at the CPSU Central Committee, took part in the conference.

Gosteleradio Chairman Nenashev Speaks to Press

LD1806052590

[Editorial Report] Moscow Television Service in Russian at 1730 GMT on 17 June carries a 46-minute recorded news conference by Mikhail Fedorovich Nenashev, chairman of the USSR State Committee for Television and Radio Broadcasting (Gosteleradio.)

Nenashev is seated at the head of a long table with journalists seated along both sides. Other people are visible seated around the sides of the room.

Nenashev greets the journalists, reminding them that this is the third such press conference and that it is planned to hold them every three months. "I will first say a few words about what state radio and television are in. They are currently suffering the same complications and instability as society as a whole, which is natural. Why complicated times? Because of the enormous flood of political events connected with the country's new political structures, all of which claim some rights or other from the media.

Nenashev continues: "You may for instance have wondered why we transmit some of our political debates and sessions at such great length. Don't people lose interest? No, interest is maintained, because there is a feeling of trust in our new political institutions; and because television enables people to take part directly in these major events. This in itself raises a whole series of issues concerning perfecting the structures of television itself something which is very pressing now if we are to truly reflect what is happening in our country's life. This also raises the question of the independence of television from political parties, groups, and structures. We want our radio and television to be objective, to serve the interests of the whole people. We are therefore thinking of creating new organizational structures. And we have a group at work currently to determine what these structures should be—structures relating to our creative work and structures relating to organizational and technical matters. Each of our radio and television channels needs to enjoy a degree of independence and to have defined relationships to political institutions and structures. In addition, each channel needs to have a definite creative direction, rather than the mish-mash of types of program on our channels currently." Nenashev then introduces Eduard Mikhaylovich Sagalayev, a Gosteleradio official.

Sagalayev says that in the country's present conditions he and a group of like-minded colleagues have come up with the idea of trying to create a public television service, a state public television service. They have come up tentatively with what might sound like the rather grandiose name of "TV-21st Century"—it is intended to be a cultural and educational channel to reflect the new century just around the corner, to offset the fact that in the current situation television has become a vehicle for the political developments taking place and is losing its traditional role as a purveyor of art and culture. He recalls that the poet Voznesenskiy once remarked of the

Ostankino television tower that he regarded it as a syringe for ideological injections. Sagalayev says he wants the new service to reflect eternal values. The intention is that such a service should be set up by a group of public organizations, people prepared to give of their creative talents—many have expressed interest and some have offered material backing, too.

Nenashev then speaks again, referring to the Law on the Press and the implications this will have for television journalists. Some people suggest that television journalists are conservative by nature, but he thinks this is not so. Some changes have already started to come about. Just last week the department that produces youth programs acquired a new independent status—both financial and creative. To talk more about this, Nenashev introduces Aleksandr Sergeyevich Ponomarev, editor in chief of youth programs.

Ponomarev stands and talks about his role as one of getting the best out of people's creative potential. This requires the possibility of experimentation, which is difficult within the strict confines of state budgets. The department will now have much more flexibility for using its resources as an enterprise might. So, he concludes, let us see how it works out when it starts to operate in its new format on 1 September.

Nenashev then speaks again, drawing attention to radio and television's improved coverage of political events, including live coverage of such events as the Moscow party conference, and the Russian party conference due to open on 19 June. He says much thought is also being given to coverage of the CPSU 28th Congress, due to open on 2 July. We are prepared to give live coverage in full to the congress, but that of course depends on the wishes of the Congress itself, Nenashev says.

He goes on to lament the fact that the arts, music, and sports do not get enough airtime at present and refers to some current events in this area—World Cup soccer and the Tchaikovsky piano competition, as well as the Jurmala festival coming up in August, except that this year it has been transferred to Yalta! He mentions a new program, "New Names," which will be screened in conjunction with the Culture Foundation.

Nanashev invites questions:

He replies to a question about the juridical basis for the proposed changes, agreeing that some legal foundation is needed, though perhaps not a special law, as in the case of the Law on the Press. There could perhaps be a decision by the Supreme Soviet or even the president defining radio and television's relationship to political parties and structures. This could also extend to defining relationships with republican or local television.

Nenashev then replies to a question about how journalists' attitudes to particular political organizations should be defined in the new structures, saying it would be wrong to forbid them to belong to one party or another.

Sagalayev replies to a question about the planned content of his new channel, saying it should contain something for the whole family, and he goes on to refer to a joint project proposed; by ABC News, NHK, and Gosteleradio to make a series of documentaries chronicling the 20th century.

A journalist asks about the place of cable television in the new structures envisaged. Nenashev says he does not think Gosteleradio has a large role in running this, and it would be a difficult practical task to bring together the dozens or hundreds of local cable networks that are likely to emerge.

A journalist asks what will be Nenashev's own function if the idea of making channels independent comes to pass. Nenashev says he and his colleagues will function as a council of directors, but each channel will basically be controlled by its own director general. This is what happens in most countries.

A journalist asks how airtime will be provided for many different parties and movements. Nenashev says there are still tecnical problems surrounding this, but politically there can be no question about the need to do it.

Nenashev then replies to a question about the working groups studying ways of restructuring the television service. He says proposed changes will first be discussed within the television oarganization, and where these represent major reorganization, proposals will be submitted to the Supreme Soviet and Council of Ministers.

A journalist asks what protection journalists will have if they are to work on contracts in the future. Nenashev says this is a difficult question to resolve, since there will always be conflict between the right to a job and the need to compete for it, but such situations exist all over the world. It would be desirable to create a union of creative workers for radio and television employees.

Nenashev then says that to conclude he will deal with two questions submitted in writing. The first asks if he wishes to add anything to what he said at the Russian Congress of People's Deputies. He says he has nothing really to add, but reaffirms that he simply wants objective coverage of the Congress proceedings. Decisions relating to the congress were made purely by Gosteleradio officials and not under any outside pressure. The second question asks about reconciliation relations to USSR bodies, the Supreme Soviet for instance, and on the other hand to Russian bodies. He says this can only be on the basis of common sense and cooperation. There is only one main television center which cannot be split; similarly there are the two main all-union channels which cannot be split in the next two or three years. Any changes made in the overall structure should be only in the interests of the viewers, and in particular care should be taken not to disrupt the very delicate structure of relations between Central Television and republican and local television services. Nenashev thanks the journalists for their attention.

Working Group Discusses New Union Treaty

LD2006233390 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1700 GMT 20 Jun 90

[From the "Vremya" newscast; video report by V. Stepanyuk]

[Text] As you already know, comrades, at its last meeting the Council of the USSR Federation came out in favor of urgently drawing up and concluding a new Union treaty, which would actually ensure the republic's real economic and political sovereignty and their efficient interaction. The conversation on these matters was continued in the Kremlin today.

[Stepanyuk] This was the first meeting of the working group of representatives from the Union republics, in accordance with the accord at the meeting of the Federation Council and it was devoted to the discussion of approaches toward drawing up a new Union treaty. Opening the meeting and welcoming those taking part on behalf of the Soviet parliament and the soviet of the federation, Comrade Nishanov noted in particular:

[Begin Nishanov recording] The USSR Federation Council has spoken in favor of the concept of combining a multiplicity of forms of federal system. Its essence is the recognition not only of an external but also of a substantive diversity of possible relations between the Soviet republics and also between each of them and the Union. In doing this, it is borne in mind that the forms of interrepublican ties can vary from federal treaty ones to confederal ones. The idea of combining a variety of structures within the national state system of the USSR is thus being put forward by life itself. Therefore the Union, which is being reformed, will obviously provide for diverse forms of relations, taking into account features of the national history, economy and culture of each republic in the conditions of the changeover of the Soviet economy to market relations. To prepare a new Union treaty we can only do so together, only in close cooperation. [end recording]

[Stepanyuk] Indeed, this was a frank and businesslike exchange of views on the procedure of drawing up a new Union treaty. Constructive ideas and proposals were put forward which can be laid at the basis of the procedure of the treaty process.

The participants in the meeting agreed to continue the work at the level of experts and to submit its result for discussion to subsequent meetings of plenipotentiary representatives of Supreme Soviets of the Union republics.

A full report on the meeting of the working group of representatives of the Union republics will be published in the press. [video shows working meeting in progress and Nishanov addressing the meeting]

Soviet Muslims' Mecca Pilgrimate Problems Cited

PM1906144190 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 18 Jun 90 Morning Edition p 4

[Report by N. Golovin: "Path to Jeddah Is Hard..."]

[Text] At the start of the month of Dhu al-Hijjah according to the lunar calendar (this year 23 June) used in the Muslim world the faithful of the whole world gather in Saudi Arabia.

As has been reported, USSR President Mikhail Gorbachev has given instructions to Aeroflot, the state airline, to organize special flights from various USSR cities to Jeddah (Saudi Arabia) to facilitate the pilgrimage to Mecca for Soviet Muslims. The Foreign Ministry and other departments have been instructed to coordinate questions connected with the pilgrims' acquisition of visas for Saudi Arabia.

About a week remains before the planned departure date. Is everything ready for the Hajj? Our correspondent questioned Mufti Talgat Tadzhuddin, chairman of the Spiritual Administration of Muslims of the European regions of the USSR and Siberia.

"This question has still not been resolved. We have had talks with Aeroflot. First they asked for enormous sums of money for tickets. Then a compromise solution was reached. Another question—how currency will be exchanged—has not been fully resolved. But we do not want to ask for alms during the pilgrimage!

"Inasmuch as we have found ourselves in such a complex situation, the congress of Muslims of the European regions of the USSR and Siberia has decided to send a telegram to president Gorbachev asking for help. We ask him to display state wisdom and to resolve our question in a fatherly way."

"What in your view lies at the basis of all the difficulties which have arisen before the pilgrims?"

"The bureaucratic system, which was created over decades and operates to this day.

"For instance, take the question of the return of Muslims from Saudi Arabia to the Soviet Union. We would like to fly via Istanbul and stop over there. Aeroflot says that for this we need the permission of the council for religious affairs while the council for religious affairs says that this question is nothing to do with it and we should sort it out with Aeroflot. And that is how it is with everything!"

Drug Problem 'Remains Very Acute'

LD2106145490 Moscow TASS in English 1402 GMT 21 Jun 90

[Text] Moscow June 21 TASS—The problem of the spread of drugs in the Soviet Union remains very acute, a high placed Interior Ministry official told the newspaper GUDOK, published today.

The number of drug addicts has not decreased. More than 130,000 of them have been registered at Interior Ministry and health bodies.

Half of those registered are chronic addicts and 25,600 are addicted to strong drugs. Thirty percent of them are glue sniffers.

The official said more than 150 criminal groups engaged in drug trafficking had been revealed in the first three months of 1990. Drug-related crimes are on the rise.

Interior Ministry bodies have already discovered 1,150 illegal narcotic crops on an area of more than 18 hectares this year.

Computer Theft Increases in USSR

LD1906205290 Moscow TASS in English 2018 GMT 19 Jun 90

[Text] Moscow June 19 TASS—Computers and VCRS are the hottest items with Soviet criminals, Interior Ministry officials told a briefing at their headquarters here today.

Computer and VCR theft has increased 10 times compared with last year, bringing estimated damages to about four million roubles, they said.

Increasing imports of computers and video equipment from abroad and the thriving of cooperatives selling electronics make it almost impossible to trace stolen items, they said.

Demand is high—computers cost 40 to 90,000 roubles and VCRs from 5 to 9,000 roubles on the black market.

On April 11, a man broke into a teachers-training school in Naberezhniye Chelnyy, stealing two VCRs and cassettes worth 15,000 roubles, police officials told reporters.

Video halls and cultural centres have become number one attraction for criminals.

On April 13, burglars broke into the Oktyabr Recreation Centre in Krasnoyarsk, stealing 53,000 roubles worth of radio equipment.

Economic

USSR Law on Pensions Published

904A0389A Moscow TRUD in Russian 30 May 90 pp 1-4

[USSR Law on Pensions for USSR Citizens published on 19 May 1990]

[Text] In keeping with USSR Constitution the present law guarantees all disabled citizens of the USSR the right to material support from public consumption funds through labor and social pensions.

The law is directed toward more fully taking labor into account as a source of improvement of the well-being of the people and of each Soviet person and eliminating the equalizing approach to support. It establishes a unity of conditions and norms for pension support for workers, employees, kolkhoz [collective farm] members, and other categories of workers.

The law guarantees social protection for workers, including through regular revision of the amounts of the pensions as the cost of living changes and the effectiveness of the country's economy increases.

Section I. GENERAL PROVISIONS

Article 1. The Right of USSR Citizens to State Pension Support

USSR citizens have the right to state pension support for old age, disability, loss of the breadwinner, and other cases not envisioned by USSR legislation.

Foreign citizens living in the USSR and individuals without citizenship have the right to a pension on a par with USSR citizens unless otherwise stipulated by USSR legislation.

Article 2. Kinds of State Pensions

The following are assigned under the present law:

a) labor pensions: for old age (seniors) (henceforth called old age pensions); for disability; for loss of the breadwinner; length of service;

b) social pensions.

Article 3. Individuals With the Right to a Labor Pension

The right to a labor pension is enjoyed by individuals employed in socially useful labor when the other conditions stipulated by the present law are met.

a) people working on the basis of a labor contract at enterprises, institutions, organizations, and cooperatives, regardless of the forms of ownership and management that are used or on the basis of membership in kolkhozes and other cooperatives (henceforth called enterprises and organizations unless otherwise stipulated)—under the condition that the enterprises and organizations make insurance contributions to the USSR Pension Fund.

b) people employed in individual labor activity, including under conditions of individual (group) leasing or on a private peasant farm—under the condition that insurance contributions are paid to the USSR Pension Fund;

c) members of creative unions and also other creative workers who are not members of creative unions—under the condition that insurance contributions are paid to the USSR Pension Fund;

d) other individuals subject to state social security;

e) workers of militarized formations that are not subject to state social security and management and rank-and-file workers of the special communications service of the USSR Ministry of Communications;

f) students in higher and secondary specialized educational institutions, schools, and courses for training personnel, graduate students and interns, and doctoral candidates;

g) individuals who have been disabled in connection with their performance of state or social duties or in connection with their performance of their duty as a USSR citizen for saving a human life or protecting state or collective property or the property of a USSR citizen, or preserving law and order;

h) individuals who have provided care for a group I invalid or an invalid child under 16 years of age, and also the aged who have reached 80 years of age;

i) members of families of individuals indicated in the present article and pensioners from among these people—in the event of the loss of the breadwinner.

Article 4. Pension Support for Military Servicemen and Their Families

The conditions, norms, and procedure for pension support for military servicemen and also management and rank-and-file members of internal affairs organs and their families are established by the USSR Law "On Pension Support for Military Servicemen." They are also granted the right to receive a pension on the basis envisioned by the present law. All kinds of monetary allowances for military servicemen and also management and rank-and-file personnel of internal affairs organs are taken into account on a par with the wages of workers and employees.

Article 5. Individuals With the Right to a Social Pension

Disabled citizens have a right to a social pension regardless of whether or not they meet the social conditions defined in the present law.

Article 6. The Right to a Choice of Pensions

Individuals who have the right to various state pensions at the same time are assigned the one pension they choose.

Article 7. Application for Assignment of Pension

It is possible to apply for the assignment of a pension at any time after receiving the right to a pension without restriction as to any kind of time period.

Old age and disability pensions are assigned regardless of whether or not work has been ceased at the time of the application for the pension. Pensions for length of service are assigned upon leaving the job which gives the right to this pension.

Article 8. Funds for Payment of Pensions. Release of Pensions From Taxes

Pensions are paid from the USSR Pension Fund.

The USSR Pension Fund is an independent financial and banking system which is not included in the USSR state budget and is formed from funds deducted by the enterprises and organizations for purposes of social insurance at rates that are differentiated depending on the danger, harmfulness, and difficulty of the work and other working conditions, the insurance contributions of individuals employed in individual labor activity, mandatory insurance contributions of citizens, and also the funds of the USSR state budget. The provisions concerning the USSR Pension Fund are approved by the USSR Council of Ministers in conjunction with the AUCCTU [All-Union Central Council of Trade Unions].

Pensions are not subject to taxation.

Article 9. Voluntary Insurance of Additional Pension

In addition to state pension support from the USSR Pension Fund, workers have the right to conclude agreements for voluntary insurance of an additional pension. The source for the payment of the additional pension in the system of the USSR State Committee for Insurance is the insurance fund, 50 percent of which consists of personal contributions of workers and 50 percent of funds from the USSR state budget.

By a decision of the administration and trade union committee, if this is envisioned by the collective contract (agreement), enterprises and organizations, and also kolkhozes and other cooperatives, by a decision of the general meeting, may reimburse workers from their own funds intended for payment of wages, fully or partially for contributions they have paid under agreements for voluntary insurance of an additional pension.

Article 10. Organs Providing Pension Support

In keeping with the present law, pension support is provided by social security organs. The administration of the USSR Pension Fund, the uniform application of the present law, and the state expert evaluation of working conditions for harmfulness and difficulty are carried out according to the procedure determined by the USSR Council of Ministers.

Article 11. Trade Union Control of Pension Support for Workers

For purposes of protecting the interests of the workers, trade unions provide for social control for correct application of the present law and the expenditure of funds allotted for pension support and social service for pensioners.

Article 12. Questions Within the Jurisdiction of the USSR Council of Ministers

Within the jurisdiction of the USSR Council of Ministers, in addition to what is envisioned by the present law, are also questions related to the procedure for assigning and paying pensions and the determination of the peculiarities for calculating the tenure of individual categories of citizens with observance of the guarantees envisioned by the present law.

Section II. LABOR PENSIONS

Old Age Pensions

Article 13. Conditions for Assigning Pensions

The following have the right to an old age pension:

men—upon reaching 60 years of age and with a work tenure of no less than 25 years;

women—upon reaching 55 years of age and with a work tenure of no less than 20 years.

Article 14. Pensions Under Privileged Conditions

The following have the right to receive an old age pension under privileged conditions, regardless of their last place of employment:

a) workers employed full-time underground and in jobs with especially harmful and especially difficult conditions—according to list No. 1 of productions, jobs, occupations, positions, and indicators approved by the USSR Council of Ministers and according to the results of the certification of the work places:

men—upon reaching 50 years of age and with a work tenure of no less than 20 years, no less than 10 of which have been in the indicated jobs;

women—upon reaching 45 years of age and with a work tenure of no less than 15 years, of which no less than seven years and six months have been in the indicated jobs.

Workers with no less than half of their work tenure spent in especially harmful and especially difficult working conditions are assigned pensions with privileged conditions with a reduction of the age stipulated by Article 13 of the present law by one year for each full year of this work for both men and women;

b) workers employed full-time in other jobs with harmful and difficult working conditions are assigned pensions from list No. 2 of productions, jobs, occupations, positions, and indicators approved by the USSR Council of Ministers and according to the results of the certification of their work places:

men—upon reaching 55 years of age with a work tenure of no less than 25 years, of which no less than 12 years and six months have been spent in the indicated jobs;

women—upon reaching 50 years of age and with a work tenure of no less than 20 years, 10 years of which have been spent in the indicated jobs.

Workers with no less than half of their work tenure with harmful and difficult working conditions are assigned pensions with privileged conditions with a reduction of the age stipulated by Article 13 of the present law by one year for every two years and six months of this work for men and for every two years of this work for women;

c) tractor and machine operators directly employed in the production of agricultural products on kolkhozes, sovkhozes [state farms], and other agricultural enterprises—men upon reaching 55 years of age and with an overall work tenure of no less than 25 years, of which no less than 20 years have been spent in the aforementioned work;

d) women working as tractor and machine operators, operators of construction, road, and loading and unloading equipment installed on tractors and excavators—upon reaching 50 years of age and with an overall work tenure of no less than 20 years, of which no less than 15 years have been spent in the aforementioned work;

e) women working as milkmaids (milking machine operators), and hog facility operators on kolkhozes, sovkhozes, and other agricultural enterprises—upon reaching 50 years of age and with a work tenure in the aforementioned work of no less than 20 years under the condition that they meet the established service norms.

For these purposes service norms are established according to the procedure determined by the USSR Council of Ministers;

f) women employed for a full season: in raising cotton and harvesting raw cotton, and raising, harvesting, and postharvest processing of tobacco—upon reaching 50 years of age and with tenure in the aforementioned work of no less than 20 years;

g) female workers in textile product employed on machines and machine tools—according to the list of productions and occupations approved according to the procedure determined by the USSR Council of Ministers—upon reaching 50 years of age and with tenure in the aforementioned work of no less than 20 years.

From the fund intended for wages, the enterprises and organizations make payments into the USSR Pension Fund to cover expenses for paying pensions in keeping with points "a" and "c" of the present article before the worker reaches pension age as defined by Article 13 of the present law, in the amount of 50 percent for pensions assigned in 1991, 60 percent in 1992, 70 percent in 1993, 80 percent in 1994, 90 percent in 1995, and 100 percent in 1996.

Beginning in 1996 the assignment and payment of pensions in keeping with points "b" and "c" of the present article will be made by enterprises and organizations according to the procedure determined by the collective agreement from their own circulating capital.

During the period up to 1996, workers of other productions, occupations, and positions may be assigned pensions depending on their working conditions (not before men reach 55 years of age and women 50) from the funds of the enterprises and organizations intended for wages which are transferred into the USSR Pension Fund for paying pensions when the worker reaches pension age as stipulated by Article 13 of the present law.

The procedure for providing pensions for workers who before this law goes into effect have worked in jobs with heavy and difficult working conditions, as stipulated by legislation previously in effect, is determined by Article 127 of the present law.

Control of the correctness of the application of the lists for privileged pension support (points "a" and "b") and the quality of the certification of the work places in enterprises and organizations, and the preparation of proposals for improving these lists are the responsibility of state organs for expert evaluation of working conditions. The provisions concerning the organs for state expert evaluation of working conditions and the procedure for conducting certifications of work places are approved by the USSR Council of Ministers.

Article 15. Peculiarities of Pension Support for Workers Employed in Underground and Strip Mining Work

Workers employed full time directly in underground and strip mining work (including mine rescue units) for extracting coal, shale, ores, and other minerals, and in the construction of mines and pits—from the list of jobs and occupations approved by the USSR Council of Ministers—have the right to a pension regardless of their age if they have been employed in these jobs for no less than 25 years, and workers in the main occupations in this work—mine face workers, tunnelers, mechanical pick operators, and rock removal equipment operators—under the condition that they have been employed in these jobs for no less than 20 years.

When men have been employed in underground work for less than 10 years and women less than seven years and six months, for each full year of this work the pension age as envisioned by Article 13 of this present law is reduced by one year.

Article 16. Pensions for Individuals Working in Regions of the Far North and Locations on an Equal Footing With Regions of the Far North

Individuals who have worked for no less than 15 calendar years in regions of the Far North or no less than 20 calendar years in locations on an equal footing with regions of the Far North have the right to the following pensions:

men—upon reaching 55 years of age and with a work tenure of no less than 25 years;

women—upon reaching 50 years of age and with a work tenure of no less than 20 years.

For individuals who have worked both in regions of the Far North and in locations on an equal footing with them, one year of work in locations on an equal footing with regions of the Far North is counted as nine months of work in regions of the Far North.

When determining the right to a pension in keeping with the present article, the list of regions of the Far North and locations on an equal footing with regions of the Far North approved by the USSR Council of Ministers which was in effect on the day of their application for the pension is to be used.

Article 17. Pensions for Disabled War Veterans

Military servicemen who have been disabled as a result of wounds, shell shock, and injuries received while protecting the USSR or performing other duties in the military service or as a result of illness related to time spent at the front have the right to a pension:

men—upon reaching 55 years of age with a work tenure of no less than 25 years;

women—upon reaching 50 years of age with a work tenure of no less than 20 years.

Article 18. Pensions for Mothers With Many Children and Mothers of People Disabled Since Childhood

Women who have given birth to five or more children and have reared them to the age of 18 and mothers of people who have been disabled since childhood and have reared them to this same age have the right to an old age pension upon reaching 50 years of age and with a work tenure of no less than 20 years minus the time spent in caring for the children (points "g" and "h" of article 67) or with a work tenure of no less than 15 years without subtracting from the tenure this time spent in caring for children. Here disabled people with children also include disabled children up to 16 years of age who have the right to receive a social pension (Article 119).

Article 19. Pensions for Midgets and Dwarfs

Individuals with pituitary nanism (dwarfism) and disfigured midgets have the right to an old age pension:

men—upon reaching 45 years of age and with a work tenure of no less than 20 years;

women—upon reaching 40 years of age and with a work tenure of no less than 15 years.

Article 20. Amounts of Pensions

Old age pensions are assigned in the amount of 55 percent of the earnings (Articles 76 and 96). For each full year of work in excess of 25 years for men and 20 years for women the pension is increased by one percent of their earnings.

For workers employed in jobs listed in point "a" of Article 14 and Article 15 of the present law, for each year

of work which gives the right to a pension under privileged conditions in excess of 10 years for men and seven years for women, the pension is increased by one percent of their earnings.

The minimum amount of the old age pension is set in the amount of 100 percent of the minimum wage established by USSR legislation (henceforth called minimum wage).

The amount of the old age pension calculated in keeping with the present article may not exceed 75 percent of the earnings.

Article 21. Pensions With Incomplete Work Tenure

Individuals who do not have work tenure sufficient for assigning a full pension (Article 13) are assigned old age pensions with incomplete tenure in proportion to the tenure they have (Article 84) but no less than the social pension (point "b" of Article 120).

When assigning pensions with incomplete tenure one does not apply the privileged conditions for age and tenure for assigning pensions envisioned by the present law.

Article 22. Additions to Pensions

The following additions are established to the old age pension, including those calculated in the minimum amount:

a) for unemployed pensioners who have dependent disabled family members (Articles 40, 41, 43, and 44)—for each disabled family member in the amount of the social pension envisioned for the corresponding category of disabled persons;

b) for single pensioners who have reached 80 years of age—for caring for them, in the amount of the social pension (point "b" of Article 120). The qualification for the category of single pensioners is established by the commission for assigning pensions.

Additional payments envisioned in points "a" and "b" of the present article may be calculated simultaneously.

Old age pensions for disabled war veterans are increased by the sum of the minimum amount of the disability pension established by the USSR Law "On Pension Support for Military Servicemen" for disabled soldiers and sailors on active duty in the corresponding disability group.

Old age pensions for other participants in the war who were military servicemen serving in the active army, and partisan detachments, and units and military servicemen who participated in combat actions while performing their international duty (henceforth called war participants) are increased by 25 percent of the minimum old age pension.

Article 23. The Period for Which the Pension Is Assigned

Old age pensions are assigned for life regardless of the individual's ability to work.

Article 24. Procedure for Paying Pensions to Working Pensioners

Old age pensions are paid in the full amount without taking into account the additional earnings (income) of the pensioner: people employed as workers and employees and also members of kolkhozes and other cooperatives engaged in analogous labor; workers in rural areas—such as teachers in schools; pedagogical workers in preschool, extracurricular, and other children's institutions; medical workers in public health and social security institutions; nurses in Red Cross and Red Crescent societies of the USSR; and all working pensioners who were war participants.

For other working pensioners the old age pension is paid in the full amount without taking into account the earnings (income) received under the condition that the term of the labor contract is completed.

Disability Pensions

Article 25. Conditions for Assigning Pensions

Disability pensions are assigned in the event of the onset of disability entailing complete or partial lost of the ability to work as a result of:

a) work-related injury or occupational disease;

b) general illness (including injury not related to work or disability since childhood).

The disability pension is assigned regardless of when the disability began: during the period of work, before arrival at work, or after work has ended.

Article 26. Disability Groups

Depending on the degree of loss of ability to work, disabled persons are divided into three groups.

The causes and groups of disability and also the time of the onset of disability are established by medical-labor evaluation commissions (VTEK) operating on the basis of provisions concerning them approved by the USSR Council of Ministers.

Article 27. Work Tenure Giving the Right to a Pension

Pensions for disability resulting from labor injury or occupational disease (Article 28) are assigned regardless of the work tenure.

Pensions for disability resulting from general illness are assigned with the following work tenure (in years) by the time of the onset of the disability:

Up to 23 years of age—1; from 23 to 26—2; 26 to 31—3; 31 to 36—5; 36 to 41—7; 41 to 46—9; 46 to 51—11; 51 to 56—13; 56 to 61—14; 61 and older—15.

If a person has acquired the work tenure necessary for the corresponding age group and the work has continued during the changeover to the next age group, the condition for tenure is considered to have been met, regardless of the requirements established for the next age group.

Pensions are assigned regardless of work tenure for individuals who have become disabled as a result of general illness during the period of work or after it but before the individual has reached 20 years of age.

When changing from a pension for disability resulting from labor injury or occupational disease to a pension for disability resulting from general illness, the necessary tenure is determined for the age at the time the initial establishment of disability.

Article 28. Disability Resulting From Labor Injury or Occupational Disease

Disability is considered to be the result of labor injury if the accident that caused the disability occurred (except for cases of illegal actions):

a) during the performance of work duties (including during business trips) and also during any actions taken in the interests of the enterprise or organization, even without special instructions;

b) on the way to or from work;

c) on the grounds of an enterprise or organization or in another work place during working time (including legal breaks), during the time it takes to put production tools, work clothing, and so forth in order before the beginning or end of work;

d) near an enterprise, organization, or other place of work during working time (including legal breaks) if being there is not prohibited by the rules of the internal work policy;

e) during the performance of state or social duties and also in the fulfillment of assignments from soviet organs or party, trade union, or other social organizations that are registered in keeping with legislation of the USSR and the Union republics even if these assignments are not related to the individual's basic work;

f) during the performance of a duty of a citizen of the USSR for saving a human life, protecting state or collective property or the property of a USSR citizen, or preserving law and order.

The list of occupational diseases is approved according to the procedure determined by the USSR Council of Ministers.

Article 29. Pensions for Soviet Citizens Who Have Immigrated From Other Countries

For Soviet citizens who have immigrated from other countries who have not worked in the USSR pensions are assigned:

a) for disability resulting from labor injury or occupational disease—regardless of their work tenure;

b) for disability resulting from general illness—when they have the work tenure necessary for the age by the day the disability began.

Article 30. Pensions for Students

Students in higher and secondary specialized educational schools; other schools; and courses for training personnel, graduate students, and interns who did not work before entering the educational institution; other school courses, graduate school; or intern program are assigned pensions:

a) with disability resulting from work injury or occupational disease related to production training, practice, or practical classes—regardless of the length of time they were in the training institution, courses, graduate school, or intern program. In this case disability resulting from labor injury related to production training, practice, or practical classes is equated to disability related to the performance of state or social duties or assignments of the administration, soviet organs, or party, trade union, or other social organizations registered under the established policy in keeping with the legislation of the USSR and the Union republics, or in connection with the performance of the duty of a citizen of the USSR for saving human life, protecting state or collective property or the property of USSR citizens, and preserving law and order;

b) with disability resulting from general illness if the student, graduate student, or intern has been studying in an educational institution, courses, graduate school, or an intern program for the corresponding period indicated in Article 27 of the present law.

Pensions are assigned to students in general educational schools when there is disability resulting from injury related to production training, practice, or practical classes regardless of the length of study.

Article 31. Amounts of Pensions

Disability pensions are assigned in the following amounts: disabled persons of groups I and II—55 percent—and disabled persons of group III—30 percent—of the earnings (Articles 76 and 96).

If disabled persons of groups I and II have the labor tenure necessary for assigning the old age pension, including underprivileged conditions, the disability pension is assigned in the amount of the old age pension with the corresponding work tenure.

The minimum amounts of the pensions are established: for disability groups I and II in the amount of 100 percent and group III 50 percent of the minimum wage.

Article 32. Pensions With Incomplete Work Tenure

Disabled persons of groups I and II with disability resulting from general illness who do not have sufficient work tenure for a full pension (Article 27) are assigned a disability pension with incomplete tenure in an amount proportionate to the tenure they have but no less than the social pension established correspondingly for disability groups I and II (Article 120).

Article 33. Amounts of Pensions for Students

Students of higher and secondary specialized educational institutions, schools, courses for training personnel, graduate schools, and intern programs who did not work before entering the training institution, courses, graduate school, or intern program, students of general educational schools who were disabled because of work-related injuries or occupational disease related to production training, practice, or practical classes are assigned disability pensions in amounts established by Article 31 of the present law.

Article 34. Amounts of Pensions for Individuals Disabled During Performance of Their Civic Duty

Individuals (not indicated in points "a"-"f" and "g" of Article 3) who have been disabled because of performing their civic or social responsibilities or performing their duty as a USSR citizen for saving human life, protecting state or collective property or the property of USSR citizens, and preserving law and order are assigned pensions in amounts established by Article 31 of the present law.

Article 35. Additions to Pensions

The following additions are made to the minimum amounts of pensions:

a) for unemployed disabled persons of groups I and II who have dependent unemployed family members—for each family member who is unable to work (Articles 40, 43, and 44) in the amount of the social pension envisioned for the corresponding category of disabled persons;

b) disabled persons of group I (except for disabled persons of group I because of vision) and also single disabled persons of group II who need outside assistance—for their care in the amount of the social pension (point "b" of Article 120); disabled persons of group I because of vision—for their care in the amount of the social pension envisioned by point "a" of Article 120.

Additions envisioned by points "a" and "b" of the present article may be included simultaneously.

Disability pensions for war participants are 25 percent higher than the minimum old age pension.

Article 36. The Period for Which the Pension Is Assigned

Pensions are assigned for the entire period of disability established by the VTEK, and for disabled men older than 60 and women older than 55 disability pensions are assigned for life. These disabled persons are assigned to different categories only at their own request.

Article 37. Period for Payment of Pensions With Change in Disability Group or Restoration of Ability To Work

In the event of a change in the disability group the pension is paid in the new amount from the day the disability group is changed.

In the event of recognition of the recertification of the disability the pension is paid until the end of the month in which the individual was declared disabled but not beyond the day on which the disability was established.

Article 38. Conditions for Renewing Payment of Pensions When Disability Is Interrupted

If a disabled person does not appear before the VTEK for recertification within the time period assigned for this the payment of his pension is halted and if he is declared disabled again the payment is resumed from the day it was halted but not for more than one month.

If the deadline for recertification has been missed for a valid reason the payment of the pension, based on a decision of the commission for assigning pensions, is made from the day the payment was suspended until the day of recertification but not for more than three years if the VTEK declares the individual to have been disabled for this period of time. Moreover, if upon recertification the disabled person is transferred to a different disability group (higher or lower), the pension for this period of time is paid according to the previous group.

If the payment of a pension to a disabled person who has lost his ability to work because of a general illness has been suspended because of the restoration of his ability to work or if he has not received the pension because of his failure to appear for recertification without a valid reason, if he is subsequently declared disabled the payment of his previously assigned pension is resumed from the day the disability is reestablished on the condition that no more than five years have passed since the suspension of the payment of the pension. If more than five years have passed, the pension is reassigned on a general basis.

Article 39. Payment of Pensions to Disabled Persons With Wages or Other Incomes

The disability pension is paid in full regardless of wages or other income.

Pensions for Loss of Breadwinner

Article 40. The Right to a Pension in the Event of the Loss of the Breadwinner

The right to a pension in the event of the loss of the breadwinner is granted to nonworking members of the

family of the deceased breadwinner who were his dependents (Article 41). His children are assigned a pension regardless of whether or not they were dependent on the breadwinner.

The parents and spouse of the deceased who are not his dependents also have a right to a pension if they have subsequently lost their source of money and subsistence.

Nonworking family members are considered to be:

a) children, brothers, sisters, and grandchildren who are not 18 years of age or older if they have become disabled before reaching 18 years of age, and brothers, sisters, and grandchildren—under the condition that they do not have able-bodied parents;

b) the father, mother, wife, or husband if they have not reached pension age: men—60, women—55, or if they are disabled;

c) one of the parents or the spouse or the grandfather, grandmother, brother, or sister, regardless of their age or ability to work, if he (she) is employed in caring for children, brothers, sisters, or grandchildren of the deceased breadwinner who have not reached eight years of age and do not work;

d) the grandfather and grandmother—when there are no others who must support them under the law.

Students in vocational and technical schools and secondary specialized and higher educational institutions have the right to a pension in the event of the loss of their breadwinner before they have completed these educational institutions but not after they have reached 23 years of age.

All the rules of the present law pertaining to the families of the deceased apply (since it is not otherwise stipulated) also to the families of individuals who are missing if the fact that the breadwinner is missing has been certified under the established policy.

Article 41. Dependent Family Members

Members of the family of the deceased are considered to be his dependents if they have been completely supported by him or have received aid from him which was the permanent and main source of livelihood for them.

Members of the family of the deceased for whom his aid was the permanent and main source of livelihood but who receive some sort of pension themselves have the right to change over to a different pension.

Article 42. Payment of a Pension in the Event of the Loss of the Breadwinner for Children Who Are Fully Supported by the State

Children who are orphans while on a full state support pension are paid the full amount.

Other children who are on full state support are paid 25 percent of the assigned pension.

Article 43. The Right of Adoptive Parents and Children to a Pension

Adoptive parents have the right to a pension under the same conditions as birth parents and adopted children—the same as natural children.

Minors who have the right to a pension in the event of the loss of their breadwinner retain this right even if they are adopted.

Article 44. The Right to a Pension of Stepfathers and Stepmothers, Stepsons and Stepdaughters

Stepfathers and stepmothers have the same right to a pension as the father under the condition that they have supported and reared the deceased stepson or stepdaughter for no less than five years.

Stepsons and stepdaughters, if they have not received support payments from their parents, have the same right to a pension as natural children.

Article 45. Retaining the Pension Upon Remarriage

The pension assigned upon the death of the spouse is retained when the pensioner enters into a new marriage.

Article 46. Work Tenure of the Breadwinner Who Gives the Right to a Pension

The family of a breadwinner who has died as a result of labor injury or occupational disease and also the family of a deceased pensioner is assigned a pension regardless of the work tenure of the breadwinner.

The pension in the event of the death of a breadwinner who has died as a result of general illness or injury not related to his work is assigned if by the day of his death the breadwinner had the tenure he needed for the assignment of a disability pension (Article 27).

Families of students, graduate students, and interns who did not work before entering the educational institution, courses, graduate school, or the intern program are assigned pensions correspondingly on the same basis as for disability pensions for these students, graduate students, or interns (Article 30).

Families of Soviet citizens who have immigrated from other countries, if the breadwinner has not worked in the USSR, are assigned pensions as follows:

a) those who received a pension in other countries upon the death of the breadwinner—regardless of the work tenure of the breadwinner;

b) those who did not receive a pension—under the condition that the breadwinner has the appropriate amount of tenure for his age at the time he stopped working (Article 27), and in the event of his death as a result of a work-related injury or occupational disease—regardless of the work tenure of the breadwinner.

Article 47. Amounts of Pensions

Pensions for the loss of the breadwinner are assigned for each nonworking member of the family in the amount of 30 percent of the earnings of the breadwinner (Articles 76 and 96) but no less than the social pension established for the corresponding category of disabled persons.

For children who have lost both parents (orphans) or the children of a deceased single mother, the pension for each child may not be less than twice the amount of the social pension.

Article 48. Calculation of Pensions for Orphans

For families that include children who have lost both parents (orphans) the pension is calculated for the overall sum of the earnings of both parents.

Article 49. Pensions With Incomplete Work Tenure

Members of families who have lost their breadwinner who died as a result of general illness and did not have tenure sufficient for the assignment of a full disability pension (Article 27) are assigned a pension with incomplete tenure in an amount proportionate to the work tenure of the breadwinner.

Here the pension for each family member who is unable to work may not be less than the social pension established for the corresponding category of disabled persons.

Article 50. Amounts of Pensions for Families of Students

Families of students at higher and secondary specialized educational institutions, schools, and courses for training personnel, graduate students, and interns who did not work before entering the educational institution, courses, graduate school, or the intern program are assigned pensions in the amounts established by Article 47 of the present law.

Article 51. Amounts of Pensions for Families of Individuals Who Died While Performing Their Civic Duty

Families of individuals (not indicated in points "a"-"f" of Article 3) who died in connection with their performance of state or social duties or in connection with their performance of the duty of a USSR citizen for saving a human life, protecting state or collective property or the property of a USSR citizen, or preserving law and order are assigned pensions in the amounts established by Article 47 of the present law.

Article 52. Amounts of Pensions for Families of Pensioners

Families of deceased pensioners are assigned pensions in keeping with the same norms as for the families of individuals indicated in Article 3 of the present law.

Article 53. The Right To Apply for a Pension Without Time Restriction

A family that has the right to a pension because of the death of its breadwinner may apply for a pension at any time after the death or the establishment of the fact that the breadwinner is missing without any time restriction.

Pensions for the loss of the breadwinner are assigned:

a) to families of individuals indicated in Article 3 of the present law—regardless of when the breadwinner died: during the period of work (training) or after he stopped working (training);

b) to families of pensioners—if the breadwinner died during the period while receiving a pension or no later than five years after the payment of the pension had stopped.

Article 54. The Period for Which Pensions Are Assigned. Changes in the Amounts of Pensions

Pensions for the loss of the breadwinner are established for the entire period during which the member of the family of the deceased is considered disabled according to Article 40 of the present law, and for male family members who have reached 60 and female family members who have reached 55 for life.

A change in the amount of the pension or the cessation of its payment to family members are done on the first day of the month following the month in which the circumstance that brought about the change in the amount or the cessation of the payment occurred.

Article 55. The Assignment of a Single Pension for All Family Members. Dividing Up the Pension

One common pension is assigned for all family members who have the right to a pension.

At the request of a family member, his share may be separated and paid to him individually.

The separation of the share of the pension is done on the first day of the month following the month in which the application for the separation of the pension arrived.

Article 56. The Amount of the Pension When the Number of Family Members Changes

When there is a change in the number of family members supported by the pension upon the loss of the breadwinner, the pension is increased or reduced correspondingly according to the number of family members who have the right to the pension.

The same revision of the pension occurs in cases when the payment of the pension to one of the family members is halted or renewed because of the passing of the circumstances that occasioned the cessation of the payment of the pension.

Article 57. Procedure and Time Periods for Establishment of Disability of Family Members

The rules laid out in Articles 26, 36, 37, and Parts 1 and 2 of Article 38 of the present law, respectively, apply to family members who are disabled.

Article 58. Payment of Pensions Regardless of Wages or Other Income

Pensions for the death of the breadwinner are paid in full regardless of the wages or other income of the pensioner.

Pensions for Length of Service. General Conditions

Article 59. Justifications for Pension Support for Length of Service

Pensions for length of service are established for individual categories of citizens employed in work whose performance leads to a loss of their ability to work or their suitability for the job before they reach the age which gives them the right to an old age pension.

Article 60. Workers With the Right to a Pension

The following have the right to a pension for length of service:

a) individual aviation workers and test pilots;

b) workers in locomotive brigades and individual categories of workers who directly engage in the organization of shipments and provide for the safety of travel on rail transportation and subways;

c) truck drivers directly employed in the technological process at mines, ore mines, strip mines, and opencast ore mines in the transportation of coal, shale, ore, and rock;

d) machine operators (dock workers) of comprehensive brigades for loading and unloading work in ports and also the ships in the maritime and river fleets and the fishing industry fleet (except for port ships that work permanently in the water area of the port, service ships, company vessels, and vessels for suburban and intra-urban travel);

e) workers of expeditions, parties, detachments, sections, and brigades directly engaged in field geological prospecting, topographic-geodesic, hydrographic, hydrological, forestry, and research work;

f) workers and foremen (including senior foremen) directly employed in timber procurement and timber floating, including those employed in servicing mechanisms and equipment;

g) shepherds employed in high mountain pastures and in arid desert regions, and reindeer herdsmen in the Far North;

h) certain categories of artists of theaters and other performance entertainment enterprises and collectives.

Article 61. Amounts of Pensions

Pensions for length of service are assigned in the amounts established by Articles 20 and 22 of the present law for old age pensions.

Pensions are calculated from the average monthly earnings (Articles 76-81, 83, and 96) received before stopping work that gives one the right to a pension for length of service (Articles 63-65).

Article 62. Procedure for Paying Pensions During Period of Work

Pensions for length of service during a period of work are paid according to the procedure envisioned by Article 24 present law.

Pensions for Individual Categories of Workers in Aviation and Test Pilots

Article 63. Workers With the Right to a Pension

The following categories of workers and employees in aviation and also test pilots, regardless of the departmental jurisdiction of the enterprises, institutions, and organizations in which they are employed, have the right to a pension for length of service:

a) pilots and test pilots when they have length of service in these positions of no less than 25 years for men and no less than 20 years for women.

When they have been relieved of flight work because of their health (illness), with a length of service of no less than 20 years for men and no less than 15 years for women, these workers have the right to a pension in proportion to the amount of time they have worked.

The list of positions of flight personnel and the procedure for calculating the length of service for assigning a pension for test pilot personal are established under the policy determined by the USSR Council of Ministers;

b) workers who control air traffic who have dispatchers' certificates:

men—upon reaching 55 years of age and with an overall work tenure of no less than 25 years, of which no less than 12 years and six months have been spent in direct flight control of aircraft;

women—upon reaching 50 years of age and with an overall work tenure of no less than 20 years, of which no less than 10 years have been spent in direct flight control of aircraft.

Work indicated in point "a" of the present article is also included in the length of service of workers employed in air traffic control;

c) engineering and technical personnel—according to the list of positions and jobs established under the policy determined by the USSR Council of Ministers:

men—upon reaching 55 years of age and with an overall work tenure in civil aviation of no less than 25 years, of which no less than 20 years have been spent in the aforementioned positions;

women—upon reaching 50 years of age and with an overall work tenure in civil aviation of no less than 20 years, of which no less than 15 years have been spent in the aforementioned positions.

The length of service of engineering and technical personnel also includes work indicted in points "a" and "b" of the present article;

d) flight attendants:

men—upon reaching 55 years of age and with an overall work tenure of no less than 25 years, of which no less than 15 years have been spent as a flight attendant;

women—upon reaching 45 years of age with an overall work tenure of no less than 20 years, of which no less than 10 years have been spent as a flight attendant.

Pensions for Length of Service of Individual Categories of Workers of Other Branches of the National Economy

Article 64. Workers With the Right to a Pension

The following have the right to a pension for length of service:

a) workers of locomotive brigades and individual categories of workers who directly organize shipments and provide for safety of traffic in rail transportation and subways—according to the list of occupations and positions approved under the policy determined by the USSR Council of Ministers; truck drivers directly employed in the technological process at mines, ore mines, strip mines, and opencast mines in transporting coal, shale, ore, and rock:

men—upon reaching 55 years of age and with an overall work tenure of no less than 25 years, of which no less than 12 years and six months have been spent in the aforementioned work;

women—upon reaching 50 years of age and with an overall work tenure of no less than 20 years, of which no less than 10 years have been spent in the aforementioned work;

b) workers of expeditions, parties, detachments, sections, and brigades directly employed in field geological prospecting, surveying, topographic-geodesic, geophysical, hydrographic, hydrological, forestry, research work:

men—upon reaching 55 years of age and with a general work tenure of no less than 25 years, of which no less than 12 years and six months have been spent in the aforementioned work;

women—upon reaching 50 years of age and with an overall work tenure of no less than 20 years, of which no less than 10 years have been spent in the aforementioned work.

Additionally, a period of work directly in field conditions for a half year or more is counted as a year of work, and for less than a half year—according to the actual length of time spent and in seasonal work—in keeping with Article 73 of the present law;

c) workers and foremen (including senior foremen) directly employed in timber procurement and timber floating, including those employed in servicing the machinery and equipment—according to the list of occupations, positions, and productions approved under the policy determined by the USSR Council of Ministers:

men—upon reaching 55 years of age and with an overall work tenure of no less than 25 years, of which no less than 12 years and six months have been spent in he aforementioned work;

women—upon reaching 50 years of age and with an overall work tenure of no less than 20 years, of which no less than 10 years have been spent in the aforementioned work;

d) machine operators (dock workers) of comprehensive brigades for loading and unloading work in ports;

men—upon reaching 55 years of age and with an overall work tenure of no less than 25 years, of which no less than 20 years have been spent in the aforementioned work;

women—upon reaching 50 years of age and with an overall work tenure of no less than 20 years, of which no less than 15 years have been spent in the aforementioned work;

e) sailors of the maritime and river fleets and the fish industry fleet (except for port ships which operate permanently in the water area of the port, auxiliary service ships, company vessels, and vessels for suburban and intra-urban transportation):

men—upon reaching 55 years of age and with an overall work tenure of no less than 25 years, of which no less than 12 years and six months have been spent in the aforementioned work;

women—upon reaching 50 years of age and with an overall work tenure of no less than 20 years, of which no less than 10 years have been spent in the aforementioned work;

workers of certain kinds of ships, occupations, and positions on ships of the maritime and river fleets and the fish industry fleet—according to the list approved under the policy determined by the USSR Council of Ministers, regardless of their age:

men—with a work tenure on these ships and in these occupations and positions of no less than 25 years;

women—with a work tenure on these ships and in these occupations and positions of no less than 20 years;

f) shepherds employed in high mountain pastures (higher than 2,000 meters) and also in arid desert regions:

men—upon reaching 55 years of age and with a work tenure in the aforementioned work of no less than 25 years;

women—upon reaching 50 years of age and with a work tenure in the aforementioned work of no less than 20 years;

g) reindeer herdsmen in regions of the Far North:

men—upon reaching 50 years of age and with a work tenure in the aforementioned work of no less than 25 years;

women—upon reaching 45 years of age and with a work tenure in the aforementioned work of no less than 20 years.

Pensions for Length of Service for Certain Categories of Artists of Theaters and Other Theater-Performance Enterprises and Collectives

Article 65. Artists With the Right to a Pension

The right to a pension for length of service in creative activity of from 20 to 30 years is enjoyed by certain categories of artists of theaters and other theatrical-performance enterprises and collectives—according to a list approved by the USSR Council of Ministers.

Article 66. Conditions for Including Military Service in Tenure

Time spent in military service in their specialty is included in the work tenure of artists of theaters and other theatrical-performance enterprises and collectives under the condition that no less than two-thirds of the tenure required for assigning a pension for length of service comes from work in positions that give the right to this pension.

Calculating Work Tenure for Assigning Labor Pensions

Article 67. Kinds of Labor Activity Included in Work Tenure

The work tenure includes work performed on the basis of a labor agreement in enterprises, institutions, organizations, and cooperatives, regardless of the forms of ownership and management that are used, and also on the basis of membership in kolkhozes and other cooperatives, regardless of the nature and duration of the work and the length of interruptions.

When calculating work tenure on a kolkhoz during the period since 1965, if the kolkhoz member has failed to meet the established minimum for labor participation on a public farm without a valid excuse, one calculates the time actually worked.

One also includes in the work tenure:

a) any other work for which the worker would receive state social security;

b) creative activity of individuals envisioned by point "c" of Article 3 of the present law. Here the creative activity of members of the USSR Union of Writers, the USSR Union of Artists, the USSR Union of Composers, the USSR Union of Cinematographers, the USSR Union of Theater Participants, and other creative workers who are not members of creative unions but are united by the corresponding professional committees, before the present law goes into effect, is included in the work tenure regardless of the payment of insurance contributions. In these cases the tenure of creative activity is established by the secretariats of the boards of creative unions of the USSR or Union republics beginning with the day of publication or the first public showing of the work of the given author;

c) military service and time spent in partisan detachments and units, and service in state security and other internal affairs organs;

d) service in paramilitary guard detachments, special communications organs, and mountain rescue units, regardless of their departmental jurisdiction or a special or military title;

e) training in higher and secondary specialized educational institutions, schools, and courses for training personnel, increasing qualifications and retraining, graduate school, doctoral programs, and intern programs;

f) temporary disability that began during a work period;

g) time spent in caring for a group I disabled person or a disabled child up to 16 years of age and also an elderly person 80 years of age;

h) time spent by a nonworking mother caring for small children but no longer than until each child reaches three years of age, with an overall total of six years;

i) periods spent by wives of officers, warrant officers, and military servicemen in extended service when there was no possibility of their finding a job in their specialty, but no more than 10 years.

With an increase in the amount of the old age pension for each year of work (Article 20), in addition to work one also takes into account periods envisioned in points "b"-"h" of the present article and Articles 67-70, 72, and 73 of the present law. The time of work after the assignment of the old age pension is counted in his tenure if the pensioner has not received a pension for this period.

When calculating the tenure for underground work which gives the right to an old age pension under preferential conditions (Article 15), the time spent in disability as a result of a labor-related injury or occupational disease sustained in this work is included in the indicated tenure.

When assigning pensions under preferential conditions in keeping with Articles 14 and 15 and pensions for length of service in keeping with Article 64 of the present

law, one does a reciprocal accounting of the periods of work envisioned by these articles under the condition that these jobs give the right to a pension under analogous or more preferential conditions.

Article 68. Benefits in Calculating Tenure for Time Spent at the Front

Military service in the active army during a period of combat activities, including when performing one's international duty, and also time spent in partisan detachments and units is included in the tenure under preferential conditions according to the procedure established for calculating the time periods of this service when assigning pensions for length of service to military servicemen.

Article 69. Benefits for Rehabilitated Citizens

For citizens who were unfairly held criminally liable or unjustifiably repressed and subsequently rehabilitated, the time spent under guard and the time spent serving jail sentences and in exile are tripled for purposes of calculating tenure.

Article 70. Benefits for Calculating Work Tenure of Workers at the Rear During the Great Patriotic War

Work, including as volunteers in military units, and service, except for military service envisioned by Article 68 of the present law, during the years of the Great Patriotic War is doubled in amount for purposes of calculating tenure.

Work in Leningrad during the period of the blockade during the years of the Great Patriotic War from 8 September 1941 through 27 January 1944 is tripled for purposes of calculating tenure.

Article 71. Procedure for Including in Tenure Time of Work in Far North and Places on an Equal Footing With the Far North

Work in regions of the Far North and locations on an equal footing with regions of the Far North is included in the work tenure for purposes of assigning and calculating pensions at a rate of one year of work for one year of tenure.

Article 72. Benefits for Work in Leprosy and Plague Institutions

Work in leprosy and plague institutions is counted double when calculating tenure.

Article 73. Procedure for Including Individual Kinds of Work in Tenure

Work in water transportation during the high water period is counted as a year of work.

A full season's work at enterprises and in organizations of seasonal branches of industry, regardless of the departmental jurisdiction of the enterprises and organizations, in keeping with a list approved by the USSR Council of Ministers, is calculated as a year of work.

Other seasonal work is calculated into the work tenure according to the actual amount of time worked.

Article 74. Procedure for Corroborating Work Tenure

The basic document for corroborating work tenure is the labor book. The procedure for corroborating the work tenure when the labor book or the corresponding entries in it are lacking is established by the USSR Council of Ministers.

Article 75. Conditions for Including the Time Worked Abroad in Work Tenure of Foreign Citizens

For foreign citizens and their families, in cases when a certain amount of tenure is required for a pension, the pensions are assigned under the condition that two-thirds of the necessary tenure comes from work in the USSR unless the agreements (Article 118) stipulate otherwise.

Calculating Pensions

Article 76. Calculating Pensions in Percentages of Average Monthly Earnings

Pensions are calculated according to the established norms in percentages of the average monthly earnings, determined in keeping with Articles 77-83 of the present law, which the citizens received before applying for their pension.

Additionally, for purposes of calculating the pension one uses earnings in a sum no greater than ten times the amount of the minimum wage. The part of the earnings that do not exceed four times the amount of the minimum wage is taken into account in full when calculating the pension. Each subsequent part of the earnings is taken into account in the following amount: the fifth [incremental] minimum—85 percent; sixth—70 percent; seventh—55 percent; eighth—40 percent; ninth—25 percent; and tenth—15 percent. The earnings calculated this way are the basis for calculating the pension.

Article 77. General Policy for Determining Average Monthly Earnings

For individuals indicated in Article 3 of the present law (except for kolkhoz members) the average monthly actual earnings used for calculating the pension are taken from any five-year period (selected by the person applying for the pension) from the last 15 years of work before applying for the pension, regardless of interruptions in the work.

The average monthly earnings for the five years are determined by dividing the overall sum of the earnings for 60 consecutive calendar months of work (within the last 15 years of work) by 60. At the request of the person applying for the pension, months with an incomplete

number of work days because of the individual's being hired or discharged are counted as full calendar months of work.

In cases where the person applying for the pension has worked for less than five years the average monthly earnings are determined by dividing the overall sum of earnings during the calendar months of work by the number of months.

If a worker has worked for less than a calendar month, the earnings for all the time worked are divided by the number of days worked and the sum that is obtained is multiplied by the number of days in a month calculated as an average for the year (25.4 with a six-day work week, and 21.2 with a five-day work week). The actual earnings of workers whose work time cannot be calculated are taken into account in the same way. The list of such workers is determined by the USSR Council of Ministers.

When pensions are assigned to workers employed in seasonal work the actual average monthly earnings are determined by dividing the earnings for five complete seasons by 60.

Article 78. Kinds of Wages Taken Into Account When Calculating Pensions

For purposes of calculating pensions the earnings include all kinds of wages for which, in keeping with existing rules, insurance contributions are calculated, except for payments of a one-time nature that are not conditioned by the existing wage system (compensation for unused vacation, payment for days off, and so forth), the list of which is approved according to the procedure determined by the USSR Council of Ministers. Here wages for working more than one job are taken into account under the condition that the earnings from the combined jobs do not exceed four times the amount of the minimum wage with the application of the established regional coefficients when necessary.

For purposes of calculating pensions one includes in the earnings for the corresponding period stipends for temporary disability or the average earnings the worker continues to receive.

If the worker has not received a full salary (rate) in his basic job and has performed other work at the same or another enterprise or organization, the pension is calculated from the overall earnings from all places of work but it must not exceed the full salary (rate) in the basic position (without restrictions for working more than one job envisioned by the first part of the present article). Additionally, for individuals working in regions of the Far North and locations on an equal footing with the Far North, in addition to the official salary (rate) for the basic position, one counts payments for the rayon coefficient and increments for work in these regions and locations. Moreover, in excess of the salary (rate) one takes into account remunerations for length of service (percentage increment for continuous employment) and remunerations for the results of the work of the enterprise or organization during the year.

For purposes of calculating pensions for individuals not subject to state social security (point "e" of Article 3), the earnings include all kinds of monetary allowances analogous to the kinds of earnings for which insurance contributions are made.

Article 79. Procedure for Determining Average Monthly Earnings of Kolkhoz Members

For kolkhoz members the average monthly actual earnings for purposes of calculating the pension are taken for any five consecutive years (chosen by the individual applying for the pension) out of the last 15 years of work before applying for the pension.

The average monthly earnings for the five years are determined by dividing the overall sum of earnings for work in public production of the kolkhoz for 60 consecutive calendar months (within the last 15 years) by 60.

In cases where the individual who has applied for a pension has been a kolkhoz member for less than five years, the pension is calculated from the average monthly actual earnings for all the time he has spent on the kolkhoz. Here the average monthly earnings are determined by dividing the overall earnings for the corresponding period by the number of months in this period.

Article 80. Kinds of Wages of Kolkhoz Members Counted When Calculating

For purposes of calculating pensions for kolkhoz members the earnings include all kinds of payment for work in public production on the kolkhoz.

Article 81. Totaling the Earnings

If part of the period for which the average monthly earnings are calculated includes work as a kolkhoz member and part of it is from other kinds of work, the earnings for each period are calculated according to the rules established correspondingly for the actual numbers of months of the indicated periods of work if this number is less than 60.

Article 82. Calculation of Pensions for Members of Creative Unions

For members of creative unions and other individuals indicated in point "c" of Article 3 of the present law, pensions are calculated from the authorial honoraria determined according to state rates for any five years in a row out of the past 15 years of creative activity before the application for the pension.

For individuals indicated in the first part of the present article, if they are simultaneously working at enterprises or in organizations, for calculating pensions one takes into account for the corresponding period either the authorial honorarium or the earnings. But if the earnings

for working in an enterprise or organization do not reach four times the amount of the minimum wage, in addition to the earnings one takes into account the sum of the authorial honorarium for which insurance contributions are calculated within the limit of four times the amount of the minimum wage.

Article 83. Benefits for Calculating Earnings

When calculating the average monthly earnings in keeping with Articles 76, 77, 79, and 82 of the present law, at the request of the applicant for the pension, the time of work during which, in keeping with a conclusion of the VTEK, the applicant was disabled or was receiving reimbursement for harm caused by injury or other bad health or was caring for a group I disabled person or a disabled child under 16 years of age and also for an elderly person 80 years of age, or was on leave to care for a small child, is not included in the 15-year period.

Article 84. Calculating Pensions With Incomplete Work Tenure

Pensions with incomplete work tenure (Articles 21, 32, and 49) are assigned in amounts proportionate to the amount of tenure.

The pensions are calculated as follows: first one determines the amount of the full pension; this pension is divided by the number of months required for full work tenure; and the amount obtained is multiplied by the number of months of actual work tenure (in this tenure a period of more than 15 days is rounded off to one month and a period up to 15 days inclusively is not counted).

If the pension with full tenure was to be the minimum amount established by the present law (Articles 20, 31, and 47) the pension with incomplete tenure is assigned in proportion to the amount of tenure the applicant has based on the minimum pension, but in any case the amount must be no less than the social pension established for the corresponding category of disabled persons (Article 120).

Article 85. Recalculation of Pensions Based on Higher Earnings

For pensioners who have worked after the assignment of the old age or disability pension for no less than two years with a higher wage than the one on the basis of which the pension was calculated, at the pensioner's request a new amount of the pension is established based on a rate higher than the one determined for the last five years before applying for the pension with a recalculation of the pension in keeping with Articles 76-83 of the present law.

Under the same conditions a pension assigned in the minimum amount is recalculated because the applicant has had no earnings.

In the event of a further increase of the pensioner's wages, the pension is calculated again at his request. Each subsequent calculation of the pension is done no sooner than two years after the last one.

Article 86. Recalculation of Pensions With Incomplete Work Tenure

If a pensioner, for whom a pension for old age or disability of groups I or II was assigned with incomplete work tenure, has worked for no less than two years after the assignment of the pension, at his request the pension is recalculated based on the tenure he has at the time of the recalculation. Each subsequent recalculation of the pension is done no sooner than two years of work after the preceding recalculation.

If the pensioner has continued to work and acquired tenure sufficient for the assignment of a full pension, at the pensioner's request the pension is recalculated correspondingly, regardless of how much time has passed since the last assignment of a pension with incomplete tenure. Here the full disability pension is established under the condition that the pensioner had tenure sufficient for assigning the full pension for the age of the pensioner at the time the disability began (Article 27).

The pension is recalculated by the pensioner's choice based on the earnings from which the pension was initially assigned (or subsequently recalculated in keeping with the procedure envisioned by Article 85 of the present law) or from the last earnings.

Article 87. Inclusion of In-Kind Earnings in Wages

For members of kolkhozes and other cooperatives, and workers of sovkhozes and other enterprises and organizations, who have received in-kind payment in addition to monetary payment on whose value insurance contributions are made, this in-kind payment is taken into account when determining the average monthly earnings at state retail prices of the period when this in-kind payment was made.

Article 88. Calculation of Pensions for Students

When pensions are calculated for students (point "f" of Article 3), graduate students, and interns, for the training period the stipend may be taken into account instead of their wages if they wish.

Article 89. Calculation of Earnings for Period of Work Abroad

When calculating the average monthly earnings of workers who have been sent from the USSR to work abroad one takes into account the earnings they received before being sent abroad (Articles 76-83) or, by their choice, their earnings determined in keeping with Article 90 of the present law.

Article 90. Calculation of Pensions for Soviet Citizens Who Have Immigrated From Other Countries

Pensions for Soviet citizens who have immigrated from other countries who have not worked in the USSR are

calculated from the average earnings of workers with the corresponding occupations and qualifications in the USSR at the time of the assignment of the pension (according to data of the corresponding trade union).

Article 91. Calculation of Pensions for People Working for Individual Citizens

For people working for individual citizens under contract (domestic workers, nannies, secretaries, typists, stenographers, guards, gardeners, chauffeurs, and others) pensions are calculated from the actual earnings but no more than double the wage rates (salaries) of workers and employees of the corresponding occupation and qualifications employed at state enterprises and consumer service organizations.

The wage rate (salary) of the corresponding categories of workers employed at state enterprises and consumer service organizations is established according to data from the corresponding trade union.

Article 92. Calculation of Pensions In the Event of the Loss of the Breadwinner

When calculating pensions in the event of the loss of the breadwinner Articles 76-84, 87-91, and 96 of the present law, respectively, are applied.

Article 93. Calculation of Pensions for Families of Pensioners

Pensions for families of pensioners calculated in the event of the death of the breadwinner are calculated from the same earnings from which the breadwinner's pension was calculated.

For families of pensioners who had a right to recalculation of the pension under the policy envisioned by Article 85 of the present law, the pensions are calculated based on the earnings from which the pension of the breadwinner was or could have been recalculated.

Article 94. Increasing Minimum Amounts of Pensions and Maximum Amounts of Earnings

The minimum amount of the pension (Articles 20, 31, and 47) and the maximum amounts of earnings taken into account when calculating a pension (Article 76) are increased in connection with an increase in the minimum wage. And the increase is made beginning 1 July if the minimum wage was increased before 1 July, and beginning 1 January of the next year if the minimum wage was increased on 1 July or later.

Article 95. Family Members for Whom Additional Payments Are Calculated

Additional payments to pensions set for nonworking pensioners who have dependent family members who are unable to work are calculated for family members indicated in Articles 40, 41, 43, and 44 of the present law. These additional payments are not calculated for family members who are receiving a labor or social pension.

When there are two or more nonworking pensioners in the family, each nonworking family member who is generally dependent on them is taken into account when calculating the additional payment for only one of the pensioners, whichever they choose.

Article 96. Calculation of Pensions for Individuals Living in Regions Where Regional Coefficients Are Added to the Wages

For individuals living in regions where regional coefficients are added to the wages of workers and employees, when assigning pensions one takes into account the actual earnings calculated with the application of the regional coefficient.

Here four times the minimum wages and the subsequent incremental parts of the wage envisioned by Article 76 of the present law are also calculated with the application of the regional coefficient established in the given region for workers and employees of nonproduction branches, but it must be no more than a coefficient of 1.5.

When these individuals depart for regions where no coefficient to the earnings has been established, by their choice the pension is calculated according to the same procedure but with the exclusion of payments for the rayon coefficients from the actual earnings or from the earnings calculated in keeping with Articles 76 and 78 of the present law.

For individuals who have arrived for permanent residence in regions indicated in the first part of the present law from other regions of the country where regional coefficients have not been established or have been established in a smaller amount, the earnings used for calculation of the pension are recalculated by applying the regional coefficient with observance of the rules in effect in the given region.

The minimum amounts of pensions assigned under the present law in regions where regional coefficients have been established are determined for the period of residence in these regions with the application of the coefficient in effect in the given region for workers and employees of nonproduction branches. The procedure for applying the regional coefficients when calculating pensions and also recalculating pensions when people leave these regions is determined by the USSR Council of Ministers.

Article 97. Recalculation of Pensions Because of Change in Family Situation, Beginning of Employment, or Ending of It

In cases where after the assignment of a pension a pensioner, because of a change in his family situation, beginning of work, or ending of it, gains or loses the right to additional payments for family members who are

unable to work or the amount of this addition is subject to change, the pension is recalculated correspondingly.

Article 98. Pensions for Special Services to the USSR

Heroes of the Soviet Union, Heroes of Socialist Labor, individuals awarded the Order of Glory of all degrees, the Order of Labor Glory of all three degrees, or the order "For Service to the Homeland in the USSR Armed Forces" of all three degrees, individuals who have honorary titles of the USSR, and also other citizens recognized by the Soviet state for their service in state, social, and economic activity or in the areas of science, culture, public education, public health, physical culture, and sports may be assigned a pension for special services to the USSR.

Article 99. Procedure for Applying for Pension

The application for the assignment of a pension to workers, employees, and members of their families (in the event of the loss of the breadwinner) is submitted through the administration of the enterprise, institution, or organization at the last place of employment.

The application for assignment of a pension to members of kolkhozes and other cooperatives and their families is submitted through the board of the kolkhoz (cooperative).

Within 10 days from the day of receipt of the application the administration (board) in conjunction with the trade union committee fills out the necessary documents concerning tenure and earnings and sends them along with the submitted application and declaration to the rayon (city) department of social security or the other social security organ—henceforth called rayon (city) social security department—corresponding to it in the place of residence of the applicant or, in keeping with the procedure determined by social security organs of the Union republic—to the rayon (city) social security department in the place where the enterprise or organization is located. If the worker who has applied for a pension is refused, he is notified of this in writing with an indication of the reasons for the rejection.

In cases where a person who has applied for a pension does not agree with the decision of the administration (board) or trade union committee to reject his application, he may submit an application for a pension directly to the rayon (city) social security department.

For other citizens and members of their families the application for the pension is submitted directly to the rayon (city) social security department in the place of residence of the applicant.

Social security departments must give explanations and references regarding questions of assigning pensions and also help the applicant to acquire the necessary documents.

Social security departments have the right to demand the corresponding documents from enterprises, organizations, and individuals and also, if necessary, to verify the proof of their issuance.

Article 100. Organs Assigning Pensions

Pensions are assigned by commissions for assigning pensions formed by rayon (city) or corresponding soviets of people's deputies (henceforth called rayon (city) soviets of people's deputies). The committee is formed from a number of members determined by the soviet of people's deputies. Along with other members the commission includes the head of the rayon (city) social security department.

On the authority of the commission for assigning pensions and on its behalf pensions may be assigned by a single member of the commission—the head of the rayon (city) social security department. But in all cases, at the request of the person who has applied for the pension and other interested individuals and organizations, the question of assigning the pension is decided by the commission for assigning pensions.

Article 101. Time Periods for Consideration of Documents for Assigning Pensions

Documents related to assigning pensions are considered by organs that assign pensions (Article 100) no later than 10 days after they are received.

A decision to refuse to assign a pension because of a failure to meet the conditions stipulated by the present law in all cases is made only by the commission for assigning pensions. No later than five days after making such a decision the social security department issues or sends to the enterprise, organization, or applicant a notification of its refusal to assign a pension with an indication of the reason for the rejection and the procedure for appeal, and at the same time it returns all the documents.

Article 102. Appeal of Decisions of the Commission for Assigning Pensions

A complaint about a decision of the commission for assigning pensions may be submitted to the rayon (city) soviet of people's deputies or the rayon (city) people's court.

Article 103. Time Periods for Assigning Pensions

Pensions are assigned from the day of the application for the pension except for the following cases in which the pension is assigned for an earlier date:

a) old age and disability pensions are assigned from the day the individual reaches pension age or the corresponding disability is established by the VTEK, if the application for the pension has been submitted no later than three months after the day pension age was reached or the disability was established;

b) pensions for the loss of the breadwinner are assigned from the day the right to a pension goes into effect but no more than 12 months before the application for the pension.

Article 104. Time Periods for Recalculation of Assigned Pension

The recalculation of the assigned pension is done within the following time periods:

when a person gains the right to a higher pension—from the first day of the month in which the pensioner has applied for recalculation of the pension if the appropriate application with all the necessary documents has been submitted before the 15th of the month inclusively, and from the first day of the following month if the application with all the necessary documents has been submitted after the 15th of the month;

with the appearance of circumstances entailing a reduction of the pension—from the first day of the month in which these circumstances appeared if this was before the 15th inclusive, and from the first day of the next month if it was after the 15th.

In cases envisioned by Articles 37 and 54 of the present law, the recalculation of the pension is done from the time periods indicated in these articles.

Article 105: Transfer From One Pension to Another

The transfer from one pension to another is carried out by a member of the commission for assigning pensions—the head of the rayon (city) social security department individually.

The transfer is made from the day of the submission of the corresponding application with all the necessary documents (if they are not already available in the pension file).

Article 106. Procedure for Application of Norms for Social Pensions When Assigning Labor Pensions to Individual Categories of Citizens

When determining the amounts of labor pensions and payments added to them according to norms of social pensions (Articles 22, 35, 47, 49, and 84), men who have reached 60 years of age and women who have reached 55 and also individuals indicated in point "c" of Article 40 are equated to individuals envisioned by point "b" of Article 120 of the present law.

Payment of Pensions

Article 107. Payment of Pensions in the Place of Residence

Nonworking pensioners are paid pensions by social security organs in the actual place of residence of the pensioner regardless of registration.

Article 108. Payment of Pensions at Place of Employment

Working pensioners are paid pensions at their place of employment from contributions made for social security.

Pensions are paid in the place of employment for the past month along with the payment of wages for the second half of the month.

Article 109. The Duty of Pensioners and Leaders of Enterprises and Organizations to Notify Social Security Departments of Changes in Conditions Affecting the Payment of Pensions

In cases where because of earnings or other income the amount of the pension should be reduced or should not be paid at all, the pensioners must notify the social security departments of these earnings or other income.

Pensioners who receive a pension because of the loss of a breadwinner must also notify social security departments of changes in their families for whom a pension or an addition to a pension is paid.

Leaders of enterprises and organizations are obliged to notify the corresponding social security departments within five days when they hire pensioners.

Article 110. Payment of Pensions by Power of Attorney and Procedure for Filling It Out

A pension may be paid under a power of attorney. A power of attorney may be submitted for a period of no more than three years.

If the time period is not indicated on the power of attorney it stays in effect for one year after the day it is executed. The power of attorney must be notarized or registered with the housing administration or some other housing organization in the place of residence of the pensioner or the treatment facility where the pensioner is staying as a patient.

Article 111. Payment of Pension for Past Time

The calculated sums of a pension not claimed promptly by the pensioner are paid for not more than three years in the past before the application for the pension was submitted.

The sums of pensions not received on time through the fault of the organ that assigns or pays the pension are paid for all past time without restriction.

Article 112. Payment of Pensions to Individuals Living in Homes for the Elderly and Disabled

Single pensioners living in homes (boarding houses) for the elderly and disabled are paid 10 percent of the assigned pension but no less than 20 percent of the minimum old age pension per month. In cases where the amount of their pension exceeds the cost of keeping them in these homes (boarding houses), the difference between the amount of the pension and the cost of the maintenance is paid but no less than 10 percent of the assigned pension and no less than 20 percent of the

minimum old age pension per month. If the pensioner living in a home (boarding house) for elderly and disabled has disabled family members who are dependent on him (Articles 40, 41, 43, and 44) the pension is paid according to the following procedure: 10 percent of the pension but no less than 20 percent of the minimum old age pension is paid to the pensioner himself and the rest of the pension but no more than 50 percent of the designated amount is paid to these family members.

Article 113. Payment of Pension During a Period of In-Patient Treatment

During a time when a pensioner is an in-patient in a hospital, clinic, or other therapeutic institution and also in a leprosarium, the pension is paid in full.

Article 114. Halting of Payment of Pension During Time of Incarceration

In the event of the incarceration of a pensioner the payment of the assigned pension is halted for the time of the incarceration.

Article 115. Deductions From Pension

Deductions may be made from pensions:

a) on the basis of court decisions, determinations, resolutions, and sentences (confiscation of assets), executive orders, and other decisions and resolutions which, in keeping with legislation of the USSR and the Union republics are executed according to the procedure established for the execution of judicial decisions;

b) on the basis of decisions of commissions for assigning pensions for exacting the sums of pensions wrongly paid to the pensioner because of abuses on his part (submitting documents with deliberately incorrect information, concealment of earnings or other income, failure to submit information about changes in the number of family members).

No deductions from pensions except for those listed above are allowed.

The amount of the deduction from the pension is calculated from the sum due to be paid to the pensioner.

It is possible to deduct no more than 50 percent of the pension: for supporting family members (child support), for making reimbursement for damages from theft of property from enterprises and organizations, for reimbursement for harm caused by injury or other damage to the health and also the death of the breadwinner, for returning overpayments of wages in cases envisioned by legislation.

For all other kinds of penalties no more than 20 percent of the pension may be withheld.

Deductions based on decisions of commissions for assigning pensions are made in an amount of no more than 20 percent of the pension in excess of the deductions for other reasons.

In all cases when penalties are withheld from the pension the pensioner retains no less than 50 percent of the pension due to him.

In the event that the payment of the pension is stopped (for example, because of the restoration of the ability to work) before complete repayment of pension sums that have been overpaid and deducted on the basis of decisions of commissions for assigning pensions, the remaining amount due is collected through court proceedings.

Article 116. Payment of Pension Not Received Because of the Death of the Pensioner and Payment of Stipend for Burial

The sum of the pension due to the pensioner and unpaid because of death is not included in his inheritance and is paid to the family members who are among the people supported by the pension in the case of the loss of the breadwinner (Articles 40, 41, 43, and 44). But the parents and husband (wife) and also the family members living with the pensioner on the day of his death have the right to receive the sums even if they are not among those to be supported by the pension in the event of the loss of the breadwinner.

When several family members apply for the sum of the pension that is due it is divided up equally among them.

These sums are paid if the application for them has followed no later than six months after the death of the pensioner.

In the event of the death of the pensioner his family is paid the stipend for burial in the amount of two months' pension.

If the pensioner is buried by individuals who are not family members the stipend is paid to these individuals in a sum not exceeding the actual costs of the burial within the limits of the indicated amount of the pension.

Article 117. Payment of Pensions to Citizens Who Have Gone Abroad

Citizens who have gone to live permanently abroad are not assigned pensions.

Pensions assigned in the USSR before leaving for permanent residence abroad are paid for six months before their departure abroad. During the time these citizens are abroad they are paid only the pensions assigned as a result of work-related injury or occupational disease.

The procedure for transferring pensions assigned as a result of work-related injury or occupational disease to other countries is determined by the USSR Council of Ministers.

Article 118. Social Security Agreements Between the USSR and Other Countries

In cases when the agreements (contracts) concerning social security between the USSR and other countries

envision other rules from the ones contained in the present law, the rules established by these agreements (contracts) apply.

Section III. SOCIAL PENSIONS

Article 119. Citizens With the Right to a Pension

Social pensions are assigned and paid to nonworking citizens (except for those disabled since childhood) when they do not have the right to a labor pension:

a) disabled persons of groups I and II, including people disabled since childhood and also disabled persons of group III;

b) individuals who have reached the following ages: men—65, women—60;

c) children—in the event of the loss of their breadwinner (point "a" of Article 40);

d) disabled children under 16 years of age.

The list of medical indications giving the right to a pension for disabled children under 16 years of age is determined according to a procedure established by the USSR Council of Ministers.

Article 120. Amounts of Pensions

Social pensions are assigned in the following amounts:

a) for disabled persons of group I, persons disabled since childhood of groups I and II and disabled children under 16 years of age—100 percent of the minimum amount of the old age pension (Article 20);

b) for disabled persons of group II (except for those disabled from childhood); individuals who have reached the following ages: men—65, women—60; children (point "a" of Article 40) in the event of the loss of their breadwinner for each child—50 percent of the minimum amount of the old age pension;

c) for disabled persons of group III—30 percent of the minimum amount of the old age pension.

For mother-heroines social pensions are assigned in all cases at no less than 100 percent of the minimum amount of the old age pension (Article 20).

Article 121. Application of Regional Coefficients to Pension Amounts

For individuals living in regions where there are coefficients for the wages of workers and employees, the amounts of the social pensions are determined for the period during which they live in these regions with the application of the coefficient established in the given region for workers and employees of nonproduction branches.

Article 122. The Right to Choose a Social Pension or the Additional Payment to the Labor Pension

When an individual simultaneously has the right to a social pension and an additional payment to the old age or disability pension for family members who are unable to work (Articles 22 and 35), either the pension or the additional payment is assigned, depending on the choice of the applicant.

Article 123. Procedure for Assigning and Paying Pensions

When assigning and paying social pensions Articles 99-105, 107, 109-116, and 118 of the present law, respectively, are applied.

Section IV. PROCEDURE AND CONDITIONS FOR RECALCULATION OF PENSION

Article 124. Increasing Pensions Because of Change in Cost of Living Index and Increase of Wages

Pensions calculated from earnings according to the norms of Articles 20, 31, and 47 of the present law are increased annually in keeping with the changes in the cost of living index and the increase in wages according to the procedure determined by the USSR Supreme Soviet by no less than two percent of the earnings from which the pension was calculated (Article 76).

Article 125. Recalculating Previously Assigned Pensions

Pensions are recalculated on the basis of documents concerning age, tenure, earnings, and others in the file at the time of the recalculation and also additional documents submitted by the pensioner by the time of the recalculation.

If the pensioner subsequently submits additional documents that give him the right to a further increase in his pension because the present law has gone into effect (concerning work tenure, earnings, family situation, and others) the pension is recalculated again according to the norms of the present law. Here the recalculation is done for time past but for no more than 12 months before the submission of the additional documents and no earlier than the day the present law goes into effect.

Article 126. Earnings Taken Into Account When Recalculating Pensions

Pensions assigned while previous legislation was in effect, if the pensioner chooses, are recalculated based on the average monthly earnings for the five years (Articles 76-83) prior to when the present law goes into effect for the corresponding category of pensioners or before the assignment of the pension, or based on the earnings from which the pension was previously calculated according to documents in the file with the application of Part two of Article 76 and Article 96 of the present law.

Article 127. Procedure for Assigning Preferential Pensions to Individuals With the Right to a Pension Under Preferential Conditions Before the Present Law Goes Into Effect

For individuals who worked, before the present law went into effect, in jobs with harmful and difficult working conditions stipulated by previous legislation, the old age pension is assigned under the following conditions:

a) for individuals who by the time the present law goes into effect have full tenure in the indicated jobs which gives them the right to a pension under preferential conditions, pensions in amounts envisioned by the present law are assigned in keeping with requirements for age and tenure established by the legislation previously in effect;

b) for individuals who do not have full tenure in work with harmful and difficult conditions, the age required for the assignment of a pension in keeping with Article 13 is reduced in proportion to the tenure they do have according to the procedure envisioned by Article 14 of the present law based on the requirements for this tenure established by legislation previously in effect.

Section V. RIGHTS OF UNION AND AUTONOMOUS REPUBLICS, LOCAL SOVIETS OF PEOPLE'S DEPUTIES, AND LABOR COLLECTIVES FOR MATERIAL SUPPORT FOR PENSIONERS

Article 128. Guarantees of the USSR and Rights of Union and Autonomous Republics, Local Soviets of People's Deputies, and Labor Collectives to Establish Additional Kinds of Material Support for Pensioners

The present law establishes a level of material support for veterans of labor and war and other disabled citizens that is guaranteed by the USSR.

Legislation of Union and autonomous republics, local soviets of people's deputies, labor collectives and social organizations using their own funds may establish additional kinds of material support for pensioners taking into account the minimum consumer budget for the given region.

Article 129. Rights of Union and Autonomous Republics

Legislation of the Union and autonomous republics may establish for pensioners and disabled persons, using funds of the corresponding republic budgets:

a) additional payments to the minimum amount of payments guaranteed by the USSR and to all kinds of state pensions in keeping with the change of the cost of living and the growth of wages in the republic;

b) additional payments for care to the pensions of single pensioners who need outside assistance;

c) payments of pensions more preferential than those envisioned by the present law for working pensioners and also old age pensions for women with children, taking the specific demographic situation into account;

d) early pensions for individual categories of workers, including in regions with special climatic conditions, taking into account the peculiarities of their labor and life;

e) pensions for outstanding achievements in labor and service to the republic in the area of state, social, and economic activity, science, culture, public education, public health, and sports;

f) benefits for medical service and sanitary-health resort treatment;

g) benefits in paying for housing, municipal services, and travel on public transportation;

h) rebates on cost of individual means of transportation (automobiles and motorized, hand-operated, and pushed wheelchairs), fuel, food products, clothing, footwear, and other goods pensioners need;

i) benefits in paying for tickets for pensioners to attend cultural- educational and theatrical performance institutions.

Union and autonomous republics also make other decisions directed toward improving living conditions for pensioners, mainly those who are less well off, single, very young, orphans, disabled, participants in war, and workers at the rear—with funds from the corresponding republic budget.

Article 130. Rights of Local Soviets of People's Deputies

Soviets of people's deputies of krays, oblasts, okrugs, cities, and other administrative-territorial units, using funds from the corresponding local budgets, within the limits of their rights, may introduce for pensioners and disabled persons the benefits envisioned by Article 129 of the present law and also public catering free of charge or with a rebate.

Local soviets of people's deputies also take other measures directed toward improving living conditions for pensioners with funds from local budgets.

Article 131. Rights of Labor Collectives

The administration of enterprises and organizations in conjunction with the trade union committee and the council of the labor collective have the right, using their own funds intended for wages, to solve problems related to improving living conditions for veterans and disabled persons who have worked in the given collective, and other pensioners, in particular:

a) to establish additional payments to state pensions taking into account the worker's labor contribution and the length of his general and continuous work tenure;

b) to introduce early pensions for workers employed under unfavorable working conditions or in regions with special climatic conditions if they do not have the right to preferential pensions because of their working conditions in keeping with the present law;

c) to establish additional payment to pensions for single pensioners in need of outside assistance for their care;

d) to introduce personal increments (additional payments) to pensions and to pay a one-time stipend when workers go on a pension who have given special service to the given labor collective and above all who have high achievements in labor.

Enterprises and organizations have the right, using their own funds intended for social development, to establish for pensioners benefits in paying for housing, keeping children in children's institutions under the jurisdiction of the enterprises and organizations, partially or fully paying for fuel, municipal services, individual means of transportation, and other goods needed by the pensioners, shared contributions to housing construction, gardening, and civil construction cooperatives, tickets for travel on all kinds of public transportation, and attendance of cultural-educational and theatrical performance institutions, and also to render other assistance to pensioners.

Enterprises and organizations must grant pensioners privileges in using sports-health complexes, houses of recreation, boarding houses, sanatoriums, and cultural-educational institutions under the jurisdiction of these enterprises and organizations.

[Signed] M. Gorbachev, president of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics

Agricultural

Early-June Weather, Crop Conditions Reported

904B0227A Moscow SELSKAYA ZHIZN in Russian 15 Jun 90 p 2

[Article by N. Korenkova, agricultural meteorologist: "Weather and Crops"]

[Text] Cool, rainy weather was noted over much of the country's eastern territory during the last 10-day period. Conditions were satisfactory for preparations to harvest winter crops, but there was not enough heat for growth and development of warm-weather vegetables and corn in the majority of the regions. Adequate provisions had been made for agricultural crops for the most part, and the condition of the plants was good.

Winter barley achieved gold ripeness in the extreme south of the Ukraine and in the Northern Caucasus. The beginning of gold ripeness was noted in the winter wheat in Azerbaijan and in places in the extreme south of the Ukraine. Milky ripeness was observed in the winter wheat and the rye in the southern half of the Ukraine and in Moldavia, the Northern Caucasus, and the Lower Volga region. Over the remaining portion of the Soviet Union's European territory the winter crops formed ears and flowered. Their development was ahead of the average annual rate by 10-15 days.

Meadow cereal grasses began forming ears almost everywhere, and they were showing a lower nodule of straw above the soil surface only in the northern region. South of the Riga-Kalinin-Lipetsk- Saratov line the cereal grasses began to flower, and in the Ukraine they sprouted after the first cuttings.

The weather was warmer than normal over the agricultural regions of Western Siberia and in Kazakhstan. The average air temperature for the 10-day period was three to five degrees higher than the annual average, but light frosts were noted at the soil surface in individual regions of Novosibirsk Oblast, Altay Kray, and Aktyubinsk Oblast.

The predominance of hot weather was scarcely favorable for the growth and development of agricultural crops. Winter crops formed ears and flowered in Western Siberia and in the north of Kazakhstan. Early spring grain crops took root and tillered. The spring wheat, spring barley, and oats planted before 20 May began to grow stalks. The plants' development was ahead of the annual average by five-10 days. In the southern agricultural regions of Siberia the cereal grasses formed ears while the leguminous grasses began to form racemes and the growth of stalks continued in the more northern regions. Flowering of the cereal grasses began in the northern oblasts of Kazakhstan and in the southwest of Altay Kray.

Warm weather predominated in the republics of Central Asia, which was favorable for the growth and development of cotton in fields where irrigation was conducted in timely fashion. Rain, heavy for the most part, occurred over the majority of the regions in Kirghizia and Tajikistan as well as in the extreme east of Uzbekistan. In the rest of the regions precipitation was light or did not take place at all. The rain contributed to the formation of a soil crust.

The cotton has five to eight leaves over most of the territory, and buds have begun to appear on the earlier crops. The winter wheat and winter barley have finished forming grain in Uzbekistan and northern Tajikistan, and they have flowered over the majority of Kirghizia, forming ears in places. The condition of the plants is good for the most part, and adequate provision is being made for them.

Harvesting continued in Turkmenia and over the majority of Tajikistan. The third crop of alfalfa began to develop in the southern regions.

Government Agricultural Reforms Criticized

PM2106130090 Moscow MOSCOW NEWS in English No 24, 24 Jun-1 Jul 90 p 3

[Article by Vladimir Tikhonov, Member of the All-Union Academy of Agricultural Sciences, USSR People's Deputy: "Deceit That Kills"]

[Text] By all appearances, economic chaos is drawing nearer. One more minor shock may be the last straw. In this situation the government has announced its long-promised plan for the "transition to a market economy".

Leaving aside the vague and shapeless phraseology, the traditionally unsubstantiated promises and assurances, the plan boils down to a price rise. On top of everything else, the rise starts with the tripling of the price of bread, almost the only foodstuff still in ample supply. If this is the transition to a "regulated market economy", we have been living under it since the mid-1950s.

I don't know what is meant by a "regulated" or, to use an earlier term, "planned" market. All I know is that a market is indispensable to commodity output where every producer is first and foremost the owner of both the means of production and the product, as well as a juridically independent person, free to produce what he sees fit and to sell his products to whomever he pleases at contractual prices. The transition to a market economy withoiut emancipating the producer and the entire sphere of commodities exchange is either an absurdity, or a self-deception, or perhaps plain deceit? Who are we trying to deceive, I wonder?

Our economic system has survived to date as a system of state monopolism. Every monopoly, especially when it merges with political power is the antagonist of free enterprise and, consequently, the market. Lenin, while substantiating the necessity for state capitalism as the economic makeup for postrevolutionary Russia insisted that its main enemy was a petty bourgeois, the main agent of commodity output. That's how it all started.

The government's plan is designed to "pass over to a market economy" without breaking down the state monopoly for fixing the prices, norms, interest rates, to say nothing of retaining the monopoly over industries, equipment, land—in short over all material resources which, unless divided among manufacturers and turned into commodities, will not allow the commodities output or a true market to materialize.

The "market" proposed by the government will not rid us of poverty. It will not bring about the world of plenty. The only thing it can guarantee is non-stop price growth.

In the present plan, the price rise is passed off as an objective "market economy demand" which has nothing to do with the government's wishes. Is that really so? Here are some statistics. The average cost of producing a ton of grain on a collective or state farm is 100 roubles. The state purchase price is 198 roubles—almost 100 percent profit for the farm! Why raise the retail prices? They say, in order to stimulate production. Yet after the 50 percent rise in grain prices a few years ago, grain production continued at the usual level of 195 to 210 million tons a year.

In a real market economy, they would not raise grain prices while leaving the prices of animal husbandy products intact, the profitableness of animal husbandry not exceeding 15 to 18 percent. They would not triple the prices of bread, the only product causing no budgetary losses due to subsidies. Apart from anything else, for the 40 million people living on the edge of poverty, bread is the main staple. When they talk of "paving the way to a market economy", they are being sly. What they are really doing is preparing for another rise in state monopoly prices. Or perhaps, they are trying to "stop the gap" of a 65-billion-rouble budget deficit by once again stripping the population.

The millstone of state monopoly has almost drowned us. Without breaking it and setting our actvity and enterprise free we shall not save ourselves. Therefore, the main direction of today's economic reform must be a decisive demonopolization of our national economy. The authority of the state power (or what remains of it) must be used for the purpose. Provided, of course, the state bureaucrats want radical economic reforms. But do they, really?

Denationalization of the land has been formally decreed, but collective and state farms, which are in fact state structures, still retain a monopoly over the land. Leaseholders have been forced to agree to crippling terms. Leasing of individual enterprises, which is for the time being the only real way towards privatization of state-run industries, has been so constricted economically that not only the buying out of assets, but also decent wages for workers have become problematic.

Yet faced with the real unemployment that the state sector is obviously unable to prevent, the government is hindering the cooperative movement.

In fact we have not made a single real step towards a market economy. Whatever has been done to date is little more than an attempt at camouflaging the state monopoly with market phraseology. If the government at the same time proposes an unjustifiable decline in the living standards, and confuses people with frightening stories about the market, the only conclusion to be drawn is this: the government is preparing to blame the "market" for the distorted structure of the national economy, for thoughtless and insane squandering of national wealth, for the relative and absolute pauperization of the population, for the disabling system of social dependency...

Will we put up with another deceit?

State Grain Purchasing Policy Criticized

PM2106143090 London MOSCOW NEWS in English No 3, 15-21 Jun 90 p 10

[Article by Andrey Sizov: "Sowing Seeds of New Grain Deal?"]

[Text] The impending increases in the purchase prices for grain from the 1990 harvest was justified by Prime

Minister Nikolay Ryzhkov on the basis that higher prices will facilitate a quicker transition to a market economy in agriculture.

Yet the price increases are clearly a concession to the vocal agrarian lobby in the Soviet parliament, and will boost the perceived viability of an agricultural system based on state and collective farming.

Domestic grain production has fallen by 20 million tonnes in the last four years. Grain imports have grown from 27 million tonnes in 1986 to 38 millin tonnes in 1989, placing an intolerable strain on the economy. The government has even sold two billion dollars worth of gold to pay off debts from grain imports.

Action is required, but the decision to raise prices and replace state orders by a tax in kind represent two sides of a single coin, designed to maintain the central command system.

Ryzhkov's speech did mention the need to let peasants manage their farms as they see fit, and to dispose of their own crops, but this is mainly hot air. The State Planning Committee, the Commission for Food and Purchases and the Lenin Academy of Agricultural Sciences are now busy drafting a nationwide grain programme of the kind so dear to our bureaucrats.

Each page resounds with stagnation-era phrases. Everything has been "provided for," we are reassured, in a programme which was compiled by top bureaucrats rather than the farmers themselves.

The "Improvement of the Pricing Mechanism" chapter suggests such age-old "incentives" as annual rewards and medals for those who produce the most grain.

Nowhere is a new pricing mechanism outlined. Neither is any mention made of a whole-sale trade in agricultural machinery and equipment, which managers at all levels have been requesting for years.

The national grain fund—currently 77 million tonnes—can only be raised through a tax in kind. The government report states that the amount of tax should be specified by each Republic's Council of Ministers. But the national grain programme gives grain supply liabilities for each of the 15 Union Republics over the next five year plan period.

Why is the state grain purchase level set at 77 million tonnes, when only 45 million tonnes are needed to feed the population? Because, the harvest is still brought to the central fund and then distributed, with dreadful waste along the way—each tonne of grain must travel an average of 1,144 kilometres.

Attempts by the government to retain the requisition and distribution system make a nonsence of their support for the market economy. Unfulfilled state-purchase quotas will force the government to continue to go shopping overseas. Our losses from the hire of foreign ships for transport of foreign grain totalled 20 million dollars of precious hard currency in 1989 alone.

The government must reduce the grain purchase quotas. Otherwise, the "independent producer of grain" will remain bound hand and foot, the market will be in ruins and the agrarian lobby will demand ever increasing purchasing-price hikes.

Scientific

'Public Trial' of Volga-Don Canal Project Held

PM2106142090 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 19 Jun 90 Second Edition p 6

[Report by PRAVDA correspondent Yu. Shcherbinin under the "Ecology Diary" rubric: "They Admitted Their Errors..."]

[Text] Volgograd—A public trial of the originators of the Volga-Don-2 Canal has taken place in Volgograd. Everything was apparently as it should be in this civil action—the president of the court, the indictment, the defense. Only the defendants were missing.

The large number of media statements in defense of the great Russian river appeared, at a given stage, to have met with understanding on the part of the government. The conclusion of the recent team of specialists from the state expert commission is convincing: The construction of the canal should be suspended. But while we have the scientists' and experts' recommendations, we do not have a government decision. The huge scoops of the excavators continue to eat mercilessly away at the land, deepening an already incurable wound.

There is no longer a Ministry of Land Reclamation and Water Resources or a Ministry of Water Resources Construction, but the concern that was set up on the basis of the ministries under the leadership of P. Poladzade, unlike the government, is consistent in its actions—it is building the canal as if nothing had happened. In order to secure the financing of a construction project condemned to closure by the people, last year, with the help of the local authorities, they turned out the pockets of many kolkhozes [collective farms] and sovkhozes [state farms]. The administrative edict system, which we speak of in the past tense, is continuing to operate painlessly here.

But there are subtleties. The construction of the canal began in a certain set of conditions, when resources came out of the state budget. Now the financial burden (both material and technical) has fallen on the shoulders of the people of Volgograd.

Is Aral not enough for us?

Here people still remember the local leaders' statements on suspending construction, statements which they were generous with during the election campaign. It was largely on this basis that they won the people's trust. And

all of a sudden, an about-face—they ask the RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic] to resolve the question of completing the construction of the first phase of the canal.

Representatives of the oblast soviet executive committee, the oblast nature conservation committee, and the oblast CPSU committee were not present at the public trial.

Air Traffic Control Safety Record Criticized

PM2106130290 Moscow MOSCOW NEWS in English No 24, 24 Jun-1 Jul 90 p 15

[Article by Sergey Bura: "Air Travel at Home Is Risky Business"]

[Text] Air Traffic Controllers Administration under the Ministry of Civil Aviation, are socially dangerous. The ministry doesn't guarantee inflight safety to any of Aeroflot's 200 million annual passengers.

After bringing such bad news to readers' attention, I'd like to announce that I don't belong to the numerous people, who upon boarding, knock on wood or spit three times over their left shoulder. But I'm not superstitious due to the naive trust that has been instilled in me since childhood. I was taught that Aeroflot was comfortless and never on time, but at least it was safe.

True, this faith was at times shaken by news of rare accidents, but nevertheless I was always stilled by assurances of experts from the ministry that the average danger to a plane passenger is 5,000 times less than that faced by a pedestrian crossing the street. And this danger was allegedly becoming less and less year in and year out as the quality of Soviet made planes improves and our flight crews grow more experienced. I suspect that the majority of Soviets share this wonderful conviction. But how wrong they are, too! Aeroflot's guarantees of flight security is a bluff—the same as the rest of its convictions.

The authorship of the last phrase belongs to members of the All-Union Association of Air Traffic Controllers Administration—people who answer for this security with their conscience, and, by Art. 85 of the Criminal Code of the RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic], with a loss of their freedom.

Of course, the Soviet man is used to the fact that the data on his safety always depended on somebody else, that it was information of state importance, etc., but how long is it possible to keep quiet about the fact that the official, average—or to speak more plainly—desired level of flight safety aboard Aeroflot is two times less than the average flight safety in the USA. And really, these levels in some parts of the country can be three, four—God knows, how many times lower! According to the prediction made by the Main Computing Centre of the Air Traffic Administration of the Ministry of Civil Aviation, passengers flying to Moscow, Kiev, Kharkov, Donetsk, Kuybyshev, Vologda, and Tbilisi will be in even greater danger next year. To this list can be added Siberia, Central Asia and the Far East.

This summer the chance of accidents will increase in up to 35 percent of this country's territory. During rush hours at some airports, controllers will receive and send up to a thousand pieces of information, i.e. more than the brain can handle. And they will experience a level of stress that will be dangerous for their health. The crisis in our air service will be even more obvious as soon as hundreds of departmental planes that have not been in use will start to be used in commerical cargo transportation. But what scares controllers most of all is foreigners: an armarda of foreign planes has "invaded" our air space. The timetable of air traffic is going bust.

The ministry's call for controllers to study English caught the Air Traffic Controllers Adminstration unawares. By summer the flow of air traffic over Siberia will grow by 5 times, and over Central Asia by 3.7 times. No one knows today what kind of catastrophe this might bring about. The problem is not only in knowledge of English. In Siberia, for example, radar communications have blank spaces. Controllers' equipment has grown obsolete during the last decade. Many centres don't have even normal communications.

Of the 102 airports in the USSR, only two have automated systems for managing air traffic, and these are obsolete. Only Moscow has a system for preventing air collisions. The only Soviet-built automated centre of flight control is in Rostov-na-Donu, and after six years of construction it still has not been put into operation.

The worst accident involving foreign planes happened last July, when two Boeings miraculously escaped collision near Sillamae. In controllers' language such situations are called "dangerous approaches". Formally, its the controller who is blamed for such accidents. Then follows a trial and a serious punishment. A lot of people are punished for a slowing reaction, mental loss and fatigue among air traffic controllers. This system is comfortable for those who wield it, and works without such additional expenditures as the purchase of imported computer system which evidently is more expensive than the cost of today's air catastrophes.

Transcript of 16 Jun 'Man, Earth, Universe' Show

PM2106184190 Moscow Television Service in Russian 0504 GMT 16 Jun 90

["Man, Earth, Universe" program chaired by Pilot-Cosmonaut Vitaliy Ivanovich Sevastyanov, twice Hero of the Soviet Union]

[Text] June Edition

[Video shows rocket launch, including countdown, lift-off, and mission control report 10 seconds into the flight noting that everything is functioning normally]

[Sevastyanov] Hello, dear comrades!

We began today's program by showing you the launch of the "Kristall" module for the "Mir" orbital complex. This is a technological module; it is intended for future experiments and studies in the sphere of space technology and also for the industrial manufacture of certain crystals, alloys, and materials which are used extensively in various sectors of the national economy, above all electronics, radio engineering, and, what is more, pharmacology. So, this ill-fated module, which has been held back for a long time on earth, is finally in orbit and now is to be docked [with "Mir"]—we hope that this will have been successfully achieved by the time our program is aired. But before describing this module, we would like to remind you of the general ideology behind the development of the multi-module "Mir" orbital station, how it was conceived, how it has been implemented, and the future prospects.

[Video shows men assembling "Mir" space station] Space exploration is again at a crossroads at which there are several choices. Which should we choose? Increase the size of the station? Even if we increased the size of the station tenfold, requirements will still exceed potential tomorrow. What is the solution? Here it is is. Six docking ports instead of two as used to be the case. Special modules have taken virtually all the scientific studies and experiments and, in the near future, space production outside the station; there are four additional docking ports for them. Each module can be developed for one particular task alone. There are infinite combinations of modules. "Mir" is definitely like this, everything together. The modules can dock, and the cosmonauts set up the equipment and launch them into free flight while the station and its crews become an orbital control center. All instruments of one kind can be housed in a separate module. This is what the astrophysics module could be like. There is room for any kind of telescope—radio, gamma-ray, optical. The module may have its own orientation and power-supply systems, its own communications channels. The module also contains a space plant [kosmicheskiy zavod]. We will not compare its capacities with those of the "Salyut" station [video shows cosmonauts in space], although from the "Alloy," "Crystal," and "Corundum" experiments we realized how to organize the production of unique materials that are virtually unavailable to earth technology in space, in conditions of weightlessness. And we have really come close to being able to industrially manufacture semiconductors and hypermagnetic materials.

[V.D. Blagov, USSR State Prize winner and deputy flight controller, identified by caption] [Video shows speaker pointing to wall-mounted diagram of the "Mir" space station] And so the "Kristall" module has docked with the "Mir" station. The "Kristall" module approached the axial port of the "Mir" station as the previous module, "Kvant-2," did before. Then it was moved using a manipulator to a lateral docking port. That is shown here below. The "Kristall" module supplied technological equipment comprising four furnaces—"Optizon," "Krater," "Zona-02," "Zona-03." [Video shows shots of furnaces] All four furnaces are designed to produce crystals in conditions of weightlessness. In particular, the "Krater" furnace, which is heated by resistance, is for quite large crystals—crystals approximately 50 mm in diameter can be grown in this furnace. The "Optizon" furnace operates on a different principle—the principle of rapid heating by concentrating light rays on the specimens. The "Zona-02" and "Zona-03" furnaces are also resistor-type furnaces and grow crystals in various media—in argon, for instance, and in other media.

Some people might wonder: why did this module deliver four furnaces? Wouldn't one or two, say, have been enough? We would like to organize the semi-industrial manufacture of the maximum possible quantities of these crystals. In this connection four furnaces were ordered and the program envisages the simultaneous operation of two or three furnaces which can be supplied with electric power from our orbital power plant's solar batteries. The high temperatures in these furnaces are achieved by heating up the samples using electric power—in some furnaces using resistors, but in the "Optizon" furnace by concentrating radiation from special lamps on the samples.

[Video shows Blagov seated] We expect that the set of equipment delivered to the station by the "Kristall" module during the sixth expedition to the station will enable us to secure a considerable economic benefit totaling—from the technological installations alone, say—more than 3 million rubles [R]. It is also intended that geophysical research using apparatus delivered by this module will also provide an economic benefit of roughly the same order of magnitude.

The semiconductor elements produced using the "Kristall" module's furnaces can be used in various sectors of the electronics industry; in particular, they can be used in the production of electronic instrument components since they are of enhanced purity—these instruments will, naturally, be of a higher quality than instruments manufactured using crystals produced under terrestrial conditions. Second, we think that it will be possible to use gallium arsenide, in particular, to produce electric power using solar batteries, of which we make extensive use all the time in our space technology. Evidently the amounts produced from the "Kristall" module will be sufficient at the first stage to install an experimental panel on the solar batteries to compare the quality and yield of its electric power with the traditional panels that we are using today. We hope that their effectiveness will be higher, and it will then be a practical question of producing the requisite quantity of these elements for our own purposes—further developing space exploration and obtaining electrical power from solar panels with a smaller surface area, say.

Let me now say a few words about how the "Mir" station will develop in the future. Here is a very old photograph of the final configuration of the "Mir" station [video shows closeup of photograph of "Mir" station] which now has five modules at its docking ports. You can see

four modules on this diagram docked at the front and lateral docking ports and one—the "Kvant" module—which we have already mentioned. In addition to the "Kristall" technological module, the "Spektr" module, with optical and spectrometric equipment for expanding research into long-distance sounding of the earth, and the "Priroda" [Nature] module, which will carry equipment for ecological studies of the planet Earth, will be docked with the station. This is a very interesting set of equipment and we invite scientists from all countries to take part in kitting out the ecological module so that joint experiments can subsequently be carried out using this module.

Economy and Space

[Sevastyanov] The next part of our program is a subject that worries all our viewers from academicians to schoolchildren, and worries all of us who are involved in space programs—the economy and space.

How should space systems be used for the needs of the national economy and how can we obtain an economic return from them? We do indeed spend R6.9 billion a year. We constantly set ourselves the practical task of obtaining an economic benefit from the programs that we are actually carrying out now. This topic is being discussed both within the Supreme Soviet and by specialists and is the subject of extensive discussion among viewers too. That is what we sense from your letters. We are holding a communications session with the Rodniki [cosmonauts' callsign]—Anatoliy Solovyev and Aleksandr Balandin [video shows cosmonauts in orbit]. EKONOMIKA I ZHIZN is also taking part in this session—to be precise Nikolay Pavlovich Tarasenko, department head at the newspaper.

Nikolay Pavlovich, while the Rodniki are still approaching the communications zone I will ask you to tell us how you got the idea—an idea that we are putting into effect today together—of holding this communications session in the interests of the viewer and the reader.

[Tarasenko] Right. It is no coincidence that the two of us are here. Here is why. First, I above all wanted to say that we appointed Pilot-Cosmonaut Anatoliy Solovyev as our correspondent last year. He went into orbit as a member of our staff, and on the eve of this flight the "Man, World, Universe" program—Vitaliy Sevastyanov here—conducted an interview with him. He asked him then: Anatoliy, do journalists ask any interesting questions? He answered bluntly that there were none. We then had the idea of announcing a competition by our weekly, a competition for the best reader's question for the cosmonaut, our correspondent in orbit. The editorial office received letters—very many of them. We grouped the most interesting letters together, primarily those letters that broached the problem of the economy and space.

[Sevastyanov] Kavkhaz-2 speaking. How do you receive me?

[Cosmonaut] Excellently, Comrade!

[Sevastyanov] I am delighted to see and hear you guys. I can see that your mood is good. The "Man, World, Universe" program and the newspaper EKONOMIKA I ZHIZN want to talk to you today.

[Tarasenko] Are you ready to answer the questions put to you by our weekly's readers?

[Cosmonaut] Ready.

[Tarasenko] Comrade Trifonov from Mogilev asks our Rodniki the following question: the space economy is part of the country's economy. Is the output of space research competitive on the world market? Some earth products are not competitive. How do you explain this paradox, if you please?

[Video shows cosmonauts] [Balandin] Well, there is truth in the saying that it does not pay to do things on the cheap. In our space technology by and large efforts are made to find the resources to ensure that the equipment which is ultimately produced is reliable. We do not begrudge the time it takes to check and recheck this equipment. And as a result the equipment that is in service, the instruments which we use here during the flights, the command posts which take part in the work, and the equipment that is installed at the flight control center are all reliable and competitive. They match world standards in all respects, so to speak.

[Solovyev, identified by caption] I would like to add a couple of words here. The answer to this question lies in the very essence of space research, the essence of this sector. Why? Because of the nontraditional approach to studies of earth resources, because of the nontraditional approach to the resolution many important problems. This is the crux of the matter; it is expected that every ruble invested in this sector must produce a multiple return. For instance, at today's standards, we believe that at least tenfold.

[Tarasenko] Comrade Makhonin from Belgorod inquires: how is it intended to help Earth from space insofar as resolving ecological problems is concerned? Also, last year R3.9 billion was spent on military space exploration. Is it not intended to redistribute some of these funds to peaceful space exploration? What is your view of this problem?

[Balandin] As for military space exploration, now our countries—that is, those with the most powerful arms—are only, I believe, taking the first steps with regard to accords on disarmament and arms limitation. For that reason these national means of verification—I see military space exploration above all as a means of verification since we do not have any arms in space.

[Solovyev] It is banned by treaties.

[Balandin] Yes, it is banned. For that reason, the dictum applies here—trust but verify. If money is now being spent in our country on the ground for ground-based verification, it is generally recognized that our specialists travel to and work in the United States while U.S.

specialists work in our country, are present during experiments, carry out verification, therefore this must be approached both cautiously and carefully.

[Solovyev] But the dynamics of our life today are such that today we can say that it is too early yet to cut back these appropriations; however, I think that the dynamics are such that we must not fall behind in this sphere either—I am referring to arms reduction—because this would entail unnecessary expenditure which is, of course, needed in other areas of the national economy.

[Tarasenko] Thank you very much. Here is a very specific question, Rodniki, that is worrying one of our readers from Cheboksary, Yelagin. Will a loaf of bread become more expensive for earth if periodic long-distance surveillance of the condition of the crops and agricultural crops is carried out by satellite or by aircraft. Could you answer us now?

[Solovyev] We can say that, first, monitoring of agricultural land from space probably cannot be replaced by any Earth-based systems. The same goes for cartography—after all, five minutes' photography from aboard a space complex is equivalent to a year's work for a Tu-174 [as heard] which now carries out this kind of work in our country. But it is impossible to say unequivocally that this should only be done from space, exclusively. As yet we do not have enough monitoring systems. Cloud cover frequently gets in the way. That is why we need a particularly harmonious, comprehensive approach to this. There must be this system with the apparatus that we now have on board, and there must also be aircraft that can cope with the task better in some areas.

[Tarasenko] Clear, thank you.

[Cosmonaut] Cloud cover, conditions of this kind, also get in the way of aircraft.

[Tarasenko] Let's continue with the questions. Comrade Yeferin from Domodedovskiy Rayon, Moscow Oblast. This is a very specific short question. How much does each space photograph cost? A photograph of the Moscow area, for instance?

[Cosmonaut] First, we have to clarify the nature of the apparatus and the photograph. We know....

[Sevastyanov] Comrades, take a photograph with a commercial value, that people might be interested in actually buying. Imagine and give a rough estimate of a photograph as to the area, the territory covered. I will give you an example. A 1990 calendar of Moscow based on photographs taken in space is on sale everywhere. I won't tell you how much it costs. What would you say its cost was, please answer.

[Solovyev] Some $300-400, including the cost that went into development work. In any case, it can be claimed that the photographs which come from aboard the "Mir" complex now are competitive. That first. Moreover in terms of resolution and detail, they are superior to foreign photographs. But, unfortunately another but... another aspect of this matter is not organized that well in our country. We are often late in coming onto the market with our potential.

[Sevastyanov] That's true.

[Solovyev] We have fine apparatus.

[Sevastyanov] That's true.

[Solovyev] We have good products. We reach the market when there's already another competitor there. He got there a bit earlier, and we arrived a little later. Our products are better but the contract's already been signed.

[Sevastyanov] I want to say that the Americans put photographs costing $5-18 onto the market, while this map costs R3 in our country. We could now be offering these photographs at about R5, say. Their quality is in no way inferior. But we are not doing this for some reason.

[Cosmonaut] I would even say the quality is superior, Vitaliy Ivanovich.

[Sevastyanov] That's right.

[Tarasenko] It's a serious problem. Comrade Galich from Asbest City, Sverdlovsk Oblast asks: I have heard that fledglings have hatched in orbit in a space incubator. Was this experiment conceived for the sole purpose of hatching birds? This is causing some concern.

[Cosmonaut] Yes, it is quite true, birds have hatched. But it must be said that this is one aspect of the solution of a global task—the creation of a closed-circuit life-support system for man. One of the aspects is also water supply. I must say that this has been resolved fairly successfully. We drink water. Just half an hour ago, or may be an hour ago, we exercised, we breathe, moisture is released, there is a system which collects this moisture, there is an apparatus which recycles this moisture and we get perfectly pure water, containing the right minerals, water that has been preserved in a closed-circuit process. Another aspect of the same question is food supplies for cosmonauts. It has been decided that the most promising solution here are quail fledglings. At present, for example we have quail pate here. These are canned foods. When we have our closed circuit the quails will lay eggs. It is a question of economy. There will be no need to transport these cans here. This is why this experiment was conceived and will be continued.

[Tarasenko] A question for Solovyev, our space correspondent. As you are a specialist correspondent of the weekly EKONOMIKA I ZHIZN it is a very serious question which will probably not be easy to answer, I think. Nonetheless... Comrade Pivin from Artemovsk, Donetsk Oblast asks: what is the cost of one man/hour in space, what is the return from this man/hour for the country's national economy?

[Solovyev] The question is indeed serious. It must, however, be asked now and it must be answered. In order

to answer with a light heart and a clear conscience, it is necessary to work in a manner and organize experiments in a way which will ensure that returns are high. It is possible to say now that one hour's stay by a cosmonaut in orbit costs something in the order of R50,000.

This includes this whole complex, ground facilities, and so on. This has to be viewed comprehensively, including the whole backup system—the people who monitor our work at the flight control center, other ground facilities, and so on. All this taken together—R50,000.

[Tarasenko] And the return from the R50,000? After all, this is an investment....

[Solovyev] You are right.

[Tarasenko] So what is the return?

[Solovyev] So far we have been working at a loss.

[Tarasenko] That is to say with a negative profit?

[Solovyev] With a negative profit.

[Sevastyanov] With a small loss, though. According to the results of 1989 we were two percent short of breaking even. No more.

[Solovyev] Roughly speaking we are breaking even. However, we are hoping that with new experiments—biotechnological, technological experiments—given a sufficiently intensive utilization of two new modules—"B" and "T"—which are due to arrive here in June, we definitely hope to be in the black.

[Sevastyanov] Wonderful.

[Solovyev] And then we will be able, without fail, to calculate more accurately what we have obtained. As they say, you should not count your chickens before they are hatched. Let's do the work first, then we'll calculate.

[Sevastyanov] We have 25 seconds left. I believe that you have acquitted yourself well in all respects as regards the readers of EKONOMIKA I ZHIZN who asked complex questions, but you answered them brilliantly. Therefore I think that this newspaper's editorial collegium will consider the question and will present Sasha [Balandin] with a correspondent's certificate too for his excellent performance.

'Mir' Flight To Photograph Earth 19 June

LD1906171490 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1100 GMT 19 Jun 90

[Text] The Flight Control Center reports the space watch of Anatoliy Solovyev and Aleksandr Balandin on board the Mir complex continues. Today it is planned to take a series of photographs of southern areas of the country using Priroda-5 photographical complex and KAP-350 topographical camera within the framework of the program for the research of the earth's natural resources and the study of environment. The schedule also envisions a technical experiment to assess the strength characteristics of the structure of the Kvant-2 re-equipment module. Smelting continues on the Gallar unit, which is to last 120 hours. The aim of this technological process is to grow monocrystal of zinc oxide semiconducting material in the conditions of weightlessness. The results of medical monitoring show the state of the crew's health is good. The flight proceeds normally.

Gorizont Communications Satellite Launched

LD2206080690 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 0709 GMT 22 Jun 90

[Text] Moscow, June 22 (TASS)—In keeping with the program for the further development of the communications and television broadcasting systems using artificial earth satellites, a routine "Gorizont" communications satellite was launched in the USSR by the "Proton" satellite vehicle on Thursday. A "Mayak" [Moscow Radio] transmitter has been installed on board which is intended to continue the work being conducted within the framework of the "Intercosomos" program, to make use of new frequency bands, and set up promising systems of space communications. The "Mayak" transmitter has been developed jointly with specialists in the People's Republic of Bulgaria, the Hungarian Republic, the GDR, the Soviet Union, and the CSFR.

The satellite has been placed in a near stationary orbit with the following intitial parameters:

Distance from the earth's surface—35,788 km;
Period of revolution—23 hours 56 minutes;
Orbital inclination—1.4 degrees.

The apparatus is working normally.

[Moscow Domestic Radio Service in Russian on 22 June 0800 GMT repeats the above item but with the following addition: "The apparatus on board the satellite is being operated in accordance with the scheduled program. The transmitter's signals will be received by the Intercosmos international experimental center of satellite communications in Dubna and at the national testing ground in the GDR."]

Military

New Aircraft Carriers, Carrier Operations Viewed

OW2106003490

[Editorial Report] Moscow Television Service in Russian at 2130 GMT on 16 June carries the scheduled "Serving the Fatherland" program, devoted to development of Su-27 Flanker fighter aircraft for carrier operations in the new aircraft carrier Tbilisi. The program begins with a review of the development of the Su-27 fighter, with video of the aircraft in arctic conditions and taking part in the 1989 Singapore Air Show. As video shows the aircraft at the show, the narrator notes that it flew nonstop from Moscow to Singapore, where it

became the star of the show. Test pilot V. Pugachev is shown strapping himself into the cockpit and taking the aircraft through its paces, as the narrator describes the aircraft's maneuverability. The "Pugachev's Cobra" maneuver is shown, after which Pugachev talks about the tactical advantages of the maneuver.

The narrator discusses the complex tasks of test pilots, particularly in carrier-borne operations, as video shows early ill-fated tests of the Yak-38 vertical and short take off and landing [V/STOL] aircraft. As video shows an aircraft splashing into the sea by the rails of a ship, the narrator notes that the first test of a Yak-38 on 27 December 1979 ended with the aircraft crashing as a result of control system failure. The program shows several aircraft disasters at sea, including a Yak-38 ditching off the end of a Kiev-class cruiser, hull number 042, and the ensuing search and rescue operations.

Video cuts to the scene of an aircraft crash in a wooded area, with houses among the trees, as the narrator notes that there were also problems with the Su-27. He says the crash occurred due to multiple systems failures and the test pilot, Nikolay Sadovnikov, ejected at minimum height. After showing technicians sifting through the wreckage, the program goes on to show a series of shots of the Su-27 Flanker in various stages of flight and a montage of shots showing various static and rocket sled tests of aircraft components as the narrator talks about the outstanding qualities of the aircraft and its development. Among the shots are scenes of an Su-25 Frogfoot aircraft in a static weapons firing test.

Video then cuts to an unidentified journalists interviewing M.P. Simonov, USSR people's deputy and general designer of the P.O. Sukhoy Experimental Design Bureau, in a study. Simonov relates the development of the bureau up to its present 50th anniversary, the legacy of its early designers, and the bureau's commitment to conversion today. Talking about the new generation of designers Simonov says: "Among our best designers, we have a new generation. For example, there are such excellent designers as Aleksandr Ivanovich (Blinov), who today is working on the [words indistinct]-3 supersonic passenger aircraft and (Surevan Kurgenovich Martivras) who is working in the sphere of surface effect aircraft (Ekranoplan), and it appears that this technology will make great advances very soon."

Simonov then talks about the need to switch to new economic methods and decries official obstruction preventing defense industry enterprises from adopting leasehold methods of enterprise management. He points out the contradiction, saying that "for example the Law on Leases was adopted, yet parallel to this, at the same time, they excluded enterprises of the defense branches of industry from this process. In other words, the most qualified and the best tuned enterprises." He adds: "But, if we have this great potential here, why not use it in the cause of perestroyka?"

Simonov then notes that he was told that his enterprise is on "Ryzhkov's list" and cannot become a lease holder and says: "I consider this to be direct obstruction of perestroyka and of the development of a new economy. If we slow down everything in the most efficient part of our economy, then what is there to hope for?"

Simonov goes on to criticize the fact that the enterprise is not allowed to take over the scientific production base at its disposal, noting that this is an expression of distrust in the collective, which in the past 50 years has more than earned the right to take it over.

As video shows an Su-27 Flanker coming to a halt after landing with the aid of an arrestor hook and cable and then folding its wings, the narrator talks about the latest work of the design bureau in developing a version of the aircraft for carrier operations. He says: "It is of stronger construction than its conventional brother. A special hook ensures its short landing with the aid of a cable, while the folding wings will permit it to fit on the hanger deck. This carrier aircraft has been designed for basing on the new heavy aircraft carrier Tbilisi." Video cuts to show a port side view of the Tbilisi's bow and an aerial view of the ship at sea. Video abruptly cuts to show journalist Sergey Yurakov, identified by screen caption, interviewing Vice Admiral A.A. Kuzmin, deputy commander in chief of the USSR Navy, identified by screen caption, in an office.

Yurakov asks: "Why does our country, which is generally a land power, need aircraft carriers?" Kuzmin replies: "The fact of the matter is that modern aircraft carriers; submarines, including atomic ones with cruise missiles; surface ships, as well as strategic aviation aircraft, are capable of delivering a blow against the territory of our country from a great distance from our shores, a distance of approximately 700 to 1,300 kilometers from our coast. Their capabilities are such that from these areas they can destroy practically any target on the territory of our country. That is why the Navy's task is to prevent this kind of blow against our country. Now in order to solve this task effectively this strike must be prevented, and this means that the probable enemy must be met even before he reaches these areas. So this means that we must move our strike antisubmarine forces to precisely that distance from which the enemy could not approach those areas from which weapons could be employed."

Video cuts abruptly to show Yurakov in an office talking to G.A. Arbatov, USSR people's deputy and director of the United States of America and Canada Institute of the USSR Academy of Sciences, identified by screen caption. Arbatov says: "I do not want to portray myself as a major military specialist. But simply on the basis of common sense I have very great doubts about the need for the mission which these so-called aircraft-carrying heavy cruisers must fulfill. After all, must we always try to match the level, have the maximum that the other side has? If the Americans start leaping from the roofs of skyscrapers should we follow them? The Americans

would be very happy to see us sink just as much money. We would ruin ourselves completely.

"After all, from the very beginning of the cold war the arms race was to a great extent an economic race. The intention of our most bitter enemies lay in bleeding us to death, taking into consideration the fact that the gross national product of the United States was twice as big us ours and together with its allies it was some three to four times bigger, and to eventually create social and political explosions and so do us in.

"The estimated life expectancy of an aircraft carrier in the case of a major war is some 30 to 35 minutes because of course it would be one of the most favorite and important targets for strategic ballistic missiles, regardless of the location of these ships. Now their cost is enormous. For example one battleship (linkor) in the United States costs 3.5 billion. Its aviation and support ships add another 18 billion, while maintenance of every one of these aircraft carrier groups, with one aircraft carrier and its support group, costs another 3.5 billion. Now this is in one year."

Video cuts to show Yurakov talking once agin with Kuzmin. Kuzmin says: "Well, I would not agree with that. An aircraft carrier is an extremely mobile and maneuverable base for naval aviation which is capable of moving some 1,000 or more kilometers a day. And to locate it in the ocean or distant parts of the sea is not that easy. Besides, an aircraft-carrying ship or aircraft carrier represents a fairly strong structure that is simply both difficult to damage and even harder to destroy. Estimates show that in order to knock an aircraft carrier out of commission it would require direct hits from seven to 12 missiles. In order to destroy it would require at least 20 missiles or 25 torpedoes.

"So you can imagine that in order for these missiles or torpedoes to hit the aircraft carrier or reach their target, as the military say, it would be necessary to launch several multiple salvos more of them. This would require the concentration of very large forces. In addition to the aircraft carrier, its support ships are being built. And all of this, of course, together with the fleet of aircraft, really would cost somewhere in the order of 18 billion. The cost of our aircraft-carrying cruiser is considerably less. This is because our construction is less costly and besides we are not creating the kind of system that is being created by the Americans."

Video cuts abruptly to show Yurakov talking with Major V.N. Lopatin, USSR people's deputy, identified by screen caption. Yurakov asks: "What is your attitude towards the program of construction of heavy aircraft-carrying cruisers in our country?" Lopatin, shown in dark Air Force uniform, replies: "On the one hand this program is dictated by the need to catch up with the United States Navy, whose naval forces considerably surpass ours both in numbers and in aircraft carriers and in their structure and tasks. But on the other hand, the way this task is being attained leads me to seriously doubt that this will be achieved with the greatest efficiency and the least expenditures.

"So my attitude to this program is not straightforward insofar as the genuine need for this program is not clear, if you take the information that is presently available in the USSR Supreme Soviet. There is a lack of complete glasnost. Once again everything is being prepared behind some seven seals. Secondly, my attitude is also not straightforward because according to available information and estimates from specialists that have reached me—specialists visited me, I talked with them, and they sent me letters—well, as they say, we are seeing the latest swindle, and in particular in the case of the aircraft carrier Tbilisi."

Video cuts to show Yurakov in a study talking to Colonel Yu.A. Koltsov, USSR people's deputy, identified by screen caption. Koltsov, shown wearing a khaki uniform with aviators insignia, says: "I consider that the cruiser Tbilisi, which is under discussion, is a major achievement of our military industry, an achievement of the Ministry of Defense. And I can explain why. It is generally known and has been mentioned in the press that we have ensured the basing of Su-27 and Mig-29 aircraft on the cruiser Tbilisi. These are the most modern aircraft. There is one aspect of this and that is that in types of aircraft based on ships, we have achieved the very same level as that of the United States. I mean in terms of the combat aircraft's quality. Of course in terms of quantity of ship-based aircraft we have absolutely no parity, but we have reached the qualitative level."

Video again cuts to show Lopatin who says: "Specialists are coming to the conclusion that the military industry is attempting to introduce a steamship (parokhod) into the complement of naval forces, into the complement of combat naval forces, and not a combat vessel, insofar as today there are no effective weapons on its decks."

Video cuts to show Semenov, who says: "I know the ship Tbilisi well, if only because I, along with the flight director of the Flight Testing Institute, supervised Pugachev's first flight deck landing on that ship—this was a first in the Soviet Union, so it was new, interesting, and difficult—and therefore I have gotten to know the ship pretty well. And I should say that I have, I make airplanes, not ships, so I can objectively evaluate this vessel. This of course is a very high-quality vessel. It is a remarkable vessel, and as an engineer I admire it. I am satisfied that we were able to land our plane first and that the aircraft complements the ship's weaponry.

"As far as its basic characteristics are concerned, I must say that there have been many discussions on whether or not we need aircraft carriers. There were such discussions at the second congress and at the third congress and therefore, willingly or unwillingly, one is forced to consider this question, and a very simple circumstance comes to mind. Aircraft are the most deadly enemy of the entire Navy. Surface vessels are even less protected than submarines, and something is needed to cover them

against air attack. Therefore in other countries, for example the United States, one of the primary tasks of carrier-based aviation is to provide air defense for the fleet. The aircraft based on the Tbilisi's flight deck have the same mission. Our Su-27 is a ship-based fighter, primarily an air defense fighter as we say, and it is designed to protect the formation to which the carrier Tbilisi is itself assigned."

Video cuts to Lopatin: "Specialists have come to the conclusion that the continued delivery of MiG and Yak aircraft is simply madness and a waste of state resources. This is what experts who are specialists on the given systems are writing."

Lopatin picks up a report and reads: "Pressure is now being exerted on the leadership of our naval aviation and the Navy to accept the MiG-29K. This plane has good combat qualities, but it does not have a sufficient action radius. Having studied the ship and its ability to ensure aircraft operations, it can be stated that the ship's combat potential can only be fully utilized if its planes can remain aloft for at least two hours. Only in that case can carrier-based fighters provide the formation with reliable air defense and attack aircraft reach their targets.

"Otherwise, according to the estimates of specialists, the entire complex becomes little more than a pile of metal. Out of several dozen combat aircraft, only 16 to 20 from the first group will be able to carry out their combat missions. The second group will hardly have time to get its aircraft out of the hangers and be ready to take off when the first group is coming in to land. That goes for the MiG-29 as well.

"A take off from the ski jump [tramplin], also according to specialists, as well as a short take off—although a short take off to a lesser degree—is possible only when the weight of the aircraft is approximately equal to the thrust of its engines. We were saying here that in connection with a short take off, there is a decrease in fuel and its volume and consequently the opportunities for remaining aloft improve. In other words, a decrease in thrust will have to be compensated by dumping fuel. Now in this case even an Su-27K—and we are talking about a modification, not the aircraft in its original form—will have a radius that is less than the estimated one. If the ship is located in a combat zone where temperatures are higher, the flying time can decrease to one and a half hours in the worst case. This also is according to the estimates of specialists.

"Additionally this gets worse because we have no spare airfields, and we have no other ships to receive groups of aircraft that are airborne, in case of an accident. We also do not have refuelers for refueling the aircraft in flight to extend their flying time." In addition, in the case of an accidental snap of the arrestor cable on the deck, five or six aircraft could find themselves overboard in the sea."

Video returns to show Yurakov talking with general designer Semenov, who says: "On the contrary, the carrier version of the aircraft is more developed than the land-based version. It has a somewhat greater time in the air on patrol flights. In other words we are fulfilling presently the times we have been set for patrol flights, and furthermore, there are opportunities and means for doubling this time. We carry more powerful weapons than the land-based version. We know that no one will be supporting us out on the ocean; quite the opposite. We, that is our fighters, have to protect the ship and fleet formation. Thus, there are no detrimental versions. The fact that our aircraft takes off from a ski jump does not in any way make us decrease the aircraft's characteristics.

Video cuts to show Lopatin, who has a pile of correspondence on his desk. He says: "In a word, one needs to have complete information to be able to say 'yes' or 'no' to this program. Presently complete information on this program is not available. But I am against the realization of this program again in secret from the parliament, the USSR Supreme Soviet. We should probably arrive at a situation in which things can be controlled.

"We are talking about not permitting this kind of (?thing again), because the keels of new ships are being laid at the wharves of our shipbuilding plants. New billions are being spent. What will be the effectiveness of these billions? What will the effectiveness of these expenditures be?"

Video then cuts to show Yurakov again talking with Kuzmin. Kuzmin says: "The cost of one displacement ton of a patrol ship is greater than one displacement ton of an aircraft carrier, if one considers the effectiveness of this aircraft carrier when compared to that of the patrol ship. Besides, calculations show that the use of aircraft-carrying cruisers as part of our diverse strike and antisubmarine groups increases several times over the efficiency of the actions of these groups, due to the availability of air cover.

"Besides, if we take a criterion such as the size of the prevented loss—in other words, the cost of the submarines, ships, and aircraft that are not destroyed in combat as a result of fighter cover—then this sum cost will be considerably greater than the cost of the aircraft carrier itself. Therefore, this category, this cost effectiveness criterion, is undoubtedly to the advantage of aircraft-carrying cruisers."

As video cuts to show a Yak-38 V/STOL aircraft landing on the stern deck of a ship at sea and in other flight situations, the narrator notes that this aircraft is presently the only carrier aircraft in the Soviet Navy. He further notes that 15 years ago, it represented a major success of Soviet aviation design, but today its characteristics do not meet the requirements of a modern carrier aircraft. The experience of the Anglo-Argentine conflict, the narrator says, demonstrated the need for fighter cover for navy ships, when just a few carrier aircraft can cause great losses.

Video next pans the superstructure of what appears to be a Kiev-class carrier while the narrator notes that the

Navy was faced with the acute need for powerful fighter aircraft with a large radius of action that are also capable of landing and taking off from ships in a conventional way. The Tbilisi, he adds, was designed for basing this type of aircraft. As video shows a variety of weapons systems on the Kiev-class carrier, the narrator notes that "in addition to the carrier fighters, it will have other weapons systems similar to those installed on the aircraft-carrying Kiev-class cruisers."

Video cuts to an aerial view of a shipyard, while the narrator says "The first of the new series of heavy aircraft-carrying cruiser, the Tbilisi, is of impressive size. Its length is 300 meters, and its width is 70 meters. Nevertheless, it is still more than 30 meters shorter than the American Nimitz class aircraft carriers, its displacement is one and a half times less, and it can carry only one third the number of aircraft on its decks." Video next shows workers engaged in ship construction, then cuts to show the bow of a ship on a slip way. The narrator notes that "The second heavy aircraft-carrying cruiser, the Riga, has also been launched."

Video shows the launching ceremony of a ship with the name Riga clearly visible on the bow. Crowds can be seen on the wharf as the ship slips into the water and drops its anchors. The superstructure of the ship is be bare, and a tug boat stands nearby. The narrator continues: "There are more than 3,000 compartments in its massive hull located on 27 levels, while the total length of its passage ways is 16 km. More than 7,000 enterprises cooperate in the construction of heavy aircraft-carrying cruisers at the Black Sea Shipbuilding Plant. All Union ministries supply a variety of equipment and materials for these cruisers. Essentially the entire country is building these ships."

Video cuts to show Yurakov interviewing Koltsov, who says: "Any aircraft carrier, or our aircraft-carrying cruiser—in terms of the financial expenditures used to create it and the cooperation required in industry—cannot be relegated to any one ministry, as is being done here now, or to a branch of the Armed Forces, that is, the Navy. It is a national system in terms of the volume of resources, and I consider the cruiser Tbilisi, with its aviation armament and ships, an achievement and result of very intensive, risky, and protracted work of many large collectives. So it should yield results in our policy and in our actions in general. One must not say today that, yes, we have an achievement, but it will ruin us and create a totally negative attitude. In my opinion this is impermissible. We have to draw capital from this.

"Let me explain. Major technical achievements have always been used in connection with politics. Presently we have in hand this unique achievement of our country. We do not have parity. The United States and NATO are not very willing, to put it mildly, to start talks on a reduction of naval forces. I consider that we can and must, in my opinion, tell them that we have this achievement. One does not want to reduce large ships, aircraft carriers in particular. You are forcing us to ponder what to do with this achievement. Since you are not agreeing to reductions, we will have to make further use of this achievement in order to augment it.

"If, on the other hand, we were to see movement towards us on the part of the United States on reducing large surface ships, then immediately an option of setting some limit to the development of our aircraft carrier fleet, and reaching an agreement despite a lack of parity, would appear in view of this movement. There is a location, a committee where work on elaborating a position on this issue relating to the program of construction of large aircraft- carrying ships, should be carried out. This is the Committee for Questions of Defense and State Security.

"Presently the following is happening, and it reflects a failing in the committee's work. For example, at the second session [of the USSR Congress of People's Deputies] such respected and competent deputies as Arbatov and Felshin spoke. In their speeches, they spoke negatively about the program of construction of large carriers. Nobody else spoke on this issue at the congress, so this negative and somewhat dubious assessment remained, an assessment based on a questionable attitude to these programs was heard, and that was how it remained.

"During the congress, on 19 December I had the opportunity to speak at the committee. I said that the committee must urgently formulate its position. After a deputy has spoken, a representative of the committee should come forward and say that this issue has been reviewed, that the committee's position is as follows, that some things have not been finalized, that we have not cleared it up, but overall, the committee's position should be outlined.

"The committee is lagging behind the development of these events, particularly in this area. But it should be in the forefront. Public opinion perceives all the information and sees that something absurd is taking place. We are pursuing a policy of disarmament and reductions, while at the same time all of these deputies speak about the fact that along with this there are huge expenditures for the construction of aircraft carriers. Deputy Travkin recently mentioned this (?in the Supreme Soviet). And so in some ways public opinion is bewildered. The committee should formulate all this and outline a concept for the public."

Video cuts to show Yurakov meeting Arbatov. Yurakov holds a microphone as Arbatov says: "Creation of the Supreme Soviet Committee For Defense and State Security is undoubtedly a step forward. But 50 percent or more of the committee members are representatives of the military-industrial complex. So it is not even its lobby. In America we talk about a lobby, in other words those who are paid, officially registered. They are not swindlers or bribe takers—although undoubtedly they sometimes engage in this also—they are official organizations that defend someone's interests. Yet here we

simply have representatives of these interests, heads of major companies. One of them heads the committee, and so forth. So it is still not 'the' committee."

Video cuts to show Yurakov talking with Semenov, who says: "I would say we have a very high quality committee and a very professional committee, and when there is talk of this kind....[Semenov changes thought] I too have heard it said that it is a gathering of general designers and so on. This is far from the truth. In fact one could count the number of general designers there are on one's fingers. Many of our Soviet people, and that concerns people in the committee too, experienced the past war and have a very good first hand idea of what war is all about. In our family—mine and my wife's, (?Yekaterina) Fedorovna's—all the men went to the front and not one of them returned. So we have a very good idea of what war is all about.

"We receive many letters from Soviet people who ask: Will we not make reductions to a dangerous degree? Will we not have to urgently build everything up at considerably greater costs and losses? Therefore, the arms reduction program must be managed by very competent people, and we have such people working in our committee. So, on the contrary, we are lobbyists for disarmament. We are lobbying for decreasing funds for the development of new kinds of weapons. Hence we are striving to see that more funds are released for the development of our economy.

"It is true that there is a widely held point of view here, and unfortunately this is a fallacious point of view. We are paying a great deal of attention to arms spending. But make your own estimates. If we completely reduce all expenditures on arms to zero—on maintenance of the army, on maintenance of general officers, on development of equipment—if we stop everything, we will save less money than the size of our budget deficit today. Now if the budget deficit remains, then the economic system will differ little from the one in existence today. So the root of all evil lies in the fact that we simply are not changing over to a normal economy."

Video cuts to show the aircraft carrier Tbilisi at sea, as the narrator notes that a normal and effective economy is essential for the creation of high technology products, and in particular military equipment such as the aircraft carrier Tbilisi. He says that test flights on the Tbilisi began in November last year. Video shows a variety of shots of the ship's flight deck and superstructure, as well as crew and civilian technicians on the bridge observing an Su- 27 making touch-and-go approaches on the deck. A close shot shows the aircraft flying overhead, clearly revealing canards on the forward fuselage.

After noting the difficulties of carrier landings, the narrator introduces video footage showing carrier landing disasters on U.S. ships. These shots are closely followed by shots of the Su-27 making its first landing on the Tbilisi with the aid of an arrestor cable. The following shots show the jubilant spectators greeting test pilot Pugachev on his success, with similar scenes following shots of landings by a MiG-29 and a "test version of a Su-25 carrier training aircraft" from which two pilots emerge. Semenov can be seen among the onlookers.

Video cuts to show the Su-27 on the deck with both its wings and horizontal stabilizers folded, shots of flight deck tractors being hoisted from the hanger to the deck on the aircraft lift, and crews preparing the aircraft, blast deflectors, and deck antennas for take off. The Su-27 is shown preparing for a short take off from a position forward of the superstructure. As exhaust gases can be seen rising over the blast deflector the narrator notes that the launch failed, and the aircraft is then moved into position for a long take off over the ski jump. The Su-27 is then shown taking off with full afterburners, dipping only slightly as it rises off the deck.

Video shows Arbatov talking with correspondent Yurakov. Yurakov comments to Arbatov: "According to the Ministry of Finance, we saved R11 billion on military expenditures during the last two years. Unfortunately, it has not become easier to live."

Arbatov responds: "Look, if 40 percent of our machine building output goes for defense—the figure given by Comrade Ligachev—a normal country cannot live with this. Do you understand? If Mikhail Sergeyevich said in Sverdlovsk that not long ago we spent 18 percent of our GNP on defense, that is impossible.

"You remember last autumn the Supreme Soviet tried to raise the pensions of the most destitute people. It turned out that we can't even come up with R3 billion. We have to raise prices on beer, tobacco, and movies. So 10 billion is not small change. We spend 25 billion for all our health care, so 11 billion is not small change. That is a large sum. Yet here it is just scraping the surface."

Yurakov asks: "What part of our defense expenditures do you think we should cut first? That used for financing scientific research and experimental design work or on military mass production?"

Arbatov replies: "We have an awful lot of military mass production, far beyond most parameters. It doesn't make sense to produce so much. Even by political or economic considerations we cannot do this. It contradicts military reform and so forth.

"As for experimental design works, they sometimes create the beginning of that inertial chain which later draws us into very large and often unnecessary expenditures. Take strategic weapons, for example. The U.S. President often makes appearances, and behind him you can see diagrams. Now he has the American Minuteman-II, the Trident, and now the D-5. Now for us he recites SS-7, SS-13, SS-18, SS-19, SS-23, SS-24, and so forth. I ask: Why? I am told that in order to create competition we often place orders with two or three different design

bureaus. After accepting one, we do not want to hurt the others, so we simultaneously start turning out two or three.

"I am not sure that this is how it happens. I am not judging from the inside about this, but judging by the number of different weapons systems that we have when compared to the Americans, it appears that this is so."

Video again shows Semenov, who says: "Strategic weapons can in fact be cut by one half or two-thirds. Conventional weapons can be eliminated or, let us say, cut by two-thirds or at least in half. All of this can be done, and it is somehow being solved quite simply, although it may appear simple from a technical point of view, because if we consider the diplomatic difficulties that our representatives have to solve, they are worthy of all due respect. In the technical group, they reached agreement and made the reduction. They destroyed 20,000 tanks, 10,000 aircraft; that is, they solved the problem of reducing weapons. But how do we stop the arms race?

"There are still few people thinking about that issue and few talking about it, but it is an unbelievably complex issue. Why? Because, unlike our socialist economy and our socialist industry, every capitalist, every joint stock society, and every enterprise of that type tries to turn out products which earn the greatest profit—and weapons systems earn the greatest profits. It is the most complex system. As a matter of fact, here this may not give us profits and we all earn a normal wage, not as large as many think. A chief designer, for instance, earns the same amount as a qualified bus driver; that is, his salary is R500 to 600. Therefore, we do not work for profit, but primarily because we are interested in our work. And where is that capitalist or that joint stock society that would refrain from producing something that earns a large profit and begin producing something providing a small profit? Therefore this question exists and if it was up to me I would recommend the following approach. It has not been discussed anywhere; therefore, I hope it provides a true solution.

The initiators of the cold war, that is, those detonators of explosives, are the scientific research and experimental design efforts in the sphere of new types of weapons—new types of combat aircraft, new types of submarines, missiles, and others. Therefore, it would probably be correct to at least consider the following approach. If we agree with the Americans to reduce by 50 percent expenditures on scientific research and experimental design work in the sphere of developing and studying military technology, we would cut the pace of the arms race by half, because after scientific research and experimental design work come test models, and after test models comes mass production. We should find, as Lenin said, the main kernel and wipe it out. That kernel is the military scientific research and experimental design work. I realize that such a proposition might cause unpleasantness or misunderstanding even amongst my colleagues, who are also designers. I am a designer myself, and our design bureau exists by creating military technology and has only recently begun to create civilian technology.

Nevertheless, if we consider things from the level of the life of our families, our country, and the whole world, we must find the switch, we must find how to switch off the arms race. This switch is a decrease in spending on scientific research and experimental design work—but a symmetrical one. We must propose cutting ours by half and theirs by half, regardless of the sums being invested today. This is a simple, easy to understand principle, and generally it could be adopted. Then, after we reach this level, we can propose further cuts, say another 50 percent, and so on until the (?end) of the arms race.

"This will release enormous funds. For example, take the B-2 bomber. Its experimental versions alone cost from $7 to $10 billion. In other words this is a program costing many billions of dollars. If you cut it by half it would release enormous funds for other peaceful spheres, of which there are many, not only in our lives but in the United States too, where there are many peaceful spheres as well.

"My proposal would be as follows: Cut by half the expenditures of both sides on scientific research and experimental design work in the arms spheres."

As video shows a montage of operations on the Tbilisi and U.S. aircraft carriers, the narrator says: "Of course the peaceful dividends from ending the arms race are needed very much by both the Soviet and American peoples, and a reduction of military spending can only be welcomed. However it is fair to expect that the reductions will be mutual; otherwise, the strategic balance will be upset. The principle of mutuality is particularly important if we talk about the financing of scientific research work in the defense sphere. One-sided cuts here are extremely risky. They are fraught with an irreversible lag in the quality of arms.

"Aircraft-carrying cruisers are one of these qualitatively new types of weapons, moreover since they will be commissioned against the background of a major cut in our fleet. In recent years, the number of submarines and ships sent to the scrap yard will exceed hundreds of units. The cruiser Tbilisi is presently the only Soviet ship capable of carrying modern deck aviation. However, it has not been completed yet, and there are no aircraft for it. The United States on the other hand has 15 operational aircraft carriers, on each of which are up to 100 flying machines. With a sevenfold supremacy in large ships the United States has hundreds of times more deck aircraft. Why does the United States need this kind of supremacy? Why does it profess its peaceful disposition and at the same time maintain a powerful offensive fleet? Why, after all, do U.S. leaders stubbornly reject talks on reductions of naval forces?

"The U.S. leaders do not hide their intentions to maintain their maritime branches of the Armed Forces at the level of the most powerful military power. But even the

U.S. leader has said that a strategic balance is possible only with a parity of forces, and if there is no parity, there is no balance. So the risk of confrontation at sea is many times greater than on land. Can we under these conditions forgo our defense? Hardly. Despite economic difficulties, defense capability will always remain an objective necessity for the state. Our country, to prove its peaceful aspirations, has come out sufficiently often with unilateral peace initiatives, and they cannot continue forever. A reciprocal [vstrechnoye] movement is essential. The success of the recent meeting between the presidents of the Soviet Union and the United States confirms the possibility of compromise in any, even the most sensitive, problems of reduction of arms and arms spending."

As the program concludes, a screen caption reads: "Program prepared on an order of the P.O. Sukhoy Experimental Design Bureau's press service and is the property of this organization. Use of video materials is possible only with permission of the owner." Screen credits list Sergey Yurakov as the author and Tatyana Popova as the producer.

Baltic Republics

Military Men Seize Conscript Lists in Klaipeda

LD2106195190 Vilnius Domestic Service in Lithuanian 1600 GMT 21 Jun 90

[Text] According to information from the Lithuanian Supreme Council, military men in Klaipeda have entered the premises of many districts attempting to seize lists of conscripts to the Soviet Army. It is presumed that this action has been organized by the Klaipeda military commissar.

The republican Ministry of Internal Affairs stated that today the officials of the Klaipeda Rayon Military Commissariat visited in two groups all districts in the Klaipeda Rayon and took away documents relating to the conscripts to the Army. The Klaipeda Rayon Department of Internal Affairs did not have any information about violence being used during the seizure of these documents.

Army Facing Conscription Problems in Lithuania

LD2106194890 Vilnius Domestic Service in Lithuania 1300 GMT 21 Jun 90

[Text] A correspondent of the Moscow independent news agency POST FACTUM has succeeded in gaining an interview with an official at the Political Department of the Lithuanian Military Commissariat, Major [name indistinct].

This major stated: The spring call-up to the Soviet Army has been completed by only 20 percent. From 1,207 people who have come to military commissariats only 561 were Lithuanians. We cannot compel young people to go into the army. This is a matter for the procuracy and the militia. But these institutions are subordinated to the Lithuanian Government, and [words indistinct] Deputies of local councils refuse to take part in [words indistinct]. The formation of parallel military commissariats has started. For example, such a commissariat is in Panevezys and a reserve colonel [name indistinct] has been appointed to the post of the commissar. [passage indistinct] call-up in the middle of July. [Words indistinct] in secondary schools and in technical schools graduations will take place. We expect to fulfill the call-up plan ay another 20-30 percent.

Lithuanians Fail To Register for Spring Draft

LD2106133690 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1230 GMT 21 Jun 90

[From the "Television News Service" program]

[Text] The spring Army draft is being delayed in Lithuania. So far it has been only 20 percent fulfilled. Many of these called up for service are not appearing at the military registration and enlistment offices.

Former Sajudis Leader on New Party in Lithuania

LD2106232390 Vilnius International Service in English 2130 GMT 21 Jun 90

[Text] The action group on founding the party of March 11th published its appeal today. It says that Lithuania is in need of a force which the parliament and the state could lean upon in pressing for resolute changes in the country at large.

The appeal points out, among other things, that the privileged class which was ruling over us for several decades has regained its composure after the initial shock, while in Lithuania, which had proclaimed independence, the common man is still at a loss and rightless; his hopes are waning with each day.

One of the former Sajudis leaders, now an MP [Member of Parliament], Virgilijus Cepaitis, who is the member of the initiative group, told Radio Vilnius that the idea of such a party is backed up by a number of Sajudis people, a major part of members of the Sajudis Seimas and Seimas Council, as well as deputies to the Supreme Council.

According to Virgilijus Cepaitis, the idea to found the party of March 11th is supported by people who were not actively involved in politics before but who are aware of the importance of the current moment. Virgilijus Cepaitis said he saw no other force in Lithuania which could take an active part in building the state. As he puts it, Sajudis, (?besides) its advantages, also had one shortcoming: namely, that as a movement it could never work in a methodical and sufficiently organized way.

Virgilijus Cepaitis told Radio Vilnius that the other parties in Lithuania are small or just in the making, while the Lithuanian Communist Party is going through a period of uncertainty concerning its future.

We shall also point out that a group of people are fostering the idea to set up a liberal party, which it seems could act as a counterbalance to the party of March 11th.

TASS on Party

LD2106233190 Moscow TASS in English 2219 GMT 21 Jun 90

[By TASS correspondent Kazis Uscila]

[Text] Vilnius June 22 TASS—The LETUVOS AIDAS newspaper published on Thursday an appeal to Lithuanian citizens of an initiative group for creating the March 11 party.

On March 11, this year, the republican parliament adopted an act on the restoration of the independent Lithuanian state.

The appeal said that the March 11 party is an association of people who decided to preserve and consolidate the

republic's independence by their work and selflessness. The initiators urged to organise party support groups in cities and villages.

Authors of the appeal believe that the restored Lithuanian republic is being blocked not only from the outside. Vitally important resolutions of the Supreme Soviet and the government are sabotaged from the inside as well. They believe that there is no political force in Lithuania today, capable of assuming responsibility not only for the preservation of independence in general, but also for real changes at each enterprise, institution, in every city and village.

The organisers of the new party regard the formation of the "Lithuanian democratic state" as their main goal.

Meeting Discusses Lithuanian Fuel Supplies

LD2206095190 Vilnius Domestic Service in Lithuanian 0900 GMT 22 Jun 90

[Text] A meeting of the government commission on regulating economic situation has taken place. It was announced at the meeting that yesterday Lithuania consumed 10.5 million cubic meters of natural gas, that is, the same quantity as at the beginning of the blockade. But disturbing information has been received: Some consumers use gas willfully disregarding the established regime. This happened in Kaunas and some other towns. It was decided, when violations ar noticed, to discontinue the supply of natural gas to such consumers.

In 21 days of June only 37 percent of the planned quantity of liquified gas were received. By the end of this month, four-fifths of liquified gas are to be supplied. Such monthly consumption has been established in the Soviet Union. But having been given various promises for a long period of time we hardly believe them. Therefore, it was decided at the meeting to limit the consumption of liquified gas. The residents will be able to exchange gas cylinders only one in two months, which corresponds with the average consunmption in the past three years. Owners of individual transport will be supplied with 35 liters of liquified gas per month. This limitation will not be applied to the state nor to agricultural transport.

There are disturbing reports from Lithuanian farms. The meeting was informed that the stocks of gasoline in agriculture will be exhausted in a week, and other oil products, when used very sparingly, will last until the middle of July. Crops will be ripe then and the harvest will have to start.

Statistics on Effects of Blockade in Lithuania

LD2006230690 Vilnius Domestic Service in Russian 1920 GMT 20 Jun 90

[Excerpts] Because of a shortage of power, fuel and material resources, 18,200 people were not working in industry, building and transport. Paid holidays have been taken by 22,000 workers earlier than planned. More than 40,000 workers in industry, building and transport have been compelled to cease their normal work. On collective and state farms more than 8,000 machine operators were not carrying out their main duties. According to the estimates by the enterprises, losses amount to over R102 million. Ten industrial enterprises are not working at all. [passage omitted] More than 11,000 people applied during the blockade to employment offices; about 5,000 of them have been found employment. [passage omitted]

TASS Cites Losses

LD2106212790 Moscow TASS in English 1747 GMT 21 Jun 90

[Text] Vilnius June 21 TASS—"Losses caused by the economic blockade amounted to R102.1 million by June 18, according to enterprise estimates," the Lithuanian Department of Statistics reported today.

According to the report published here, ten industrial enterprises have completely stopped functioning and 22,000 workers and office employees were given a paid holiday ahead of time.

Some 40,200 industrial, building and transport employees were forced to stop normal work. Another 8,300 machine-operators in collective and state farms could not perform their regular duties, the report revealed.

Center Faction Emerges in Lithuanian Council

LD2106171690 Vilnius Domestic Service in Lithuanian 0700 GMT 21 Jun 90

[Report on statement by center faction group of 16 deputies read by Deputy Audrius Rudys at the 21 June Lithuanian Supreme Council session in Vilnius]

[Text] At the Lithuanian Supreme Council session, Deputy Audrius Rudys read the following statement on behalf of a group of 16 deputies:

On 11 March the act to restore Lithuania's independence was signed by all Sajudis and Lithuanian communist party deputies. Thus the doctrine of the restoration of the Lithuanian republic was approved.

However, some time since the restoration of independence a variety of opinions has emerged, different tendencies have clashed. This has encouraged further political diversification in Lithuanian society giving rise to different political emotions. Therefore, in the parliamentary discussions too, deputies expend a large part of their energy not on constructive work but on repeating and defending slogans.

We, a group of deputies in the Lithuanian Supreme Council, having no doubt that the act of 11 March is irrevocable, believe that it is essential to stabilize Lithuania's political situation, to evolve a more effective tradition of constructive discussion in parliament and to

speed up the adoption of the laws and reforms. The tradition of all democratic countries in the world demonstrates that this is only possible when parliamentary factions are formed which directly reflect the social and political trends in the social strata represented by them.

Today many people in Lithuania cannot identify with any of the extreme positions taken up by the parliamentarians. The Supreme Council will face a dilemma: Either it will lag behind the processes taking place in society and its work will be paralyzed, or it will take these changes into consideration and will differentiate within itself.

Thus our group, evaluating the distribution of parliamentary forces, regards as its aim the establishment of a center faction. We understand this process of creating the faction as a necessity to identify ourselves and our views—views which differ both from the formal Lithuanian Communist Party and from the radical section of Sajudis parliamentarians.

Although the Lithuanian Communist Party is not united in its social composition, it is still linked to the monopolistic industry and large-scale agriculture. From the moral point of view and from the viewpoint of historical responsibility it has not freed itself from a negative social and psychological attitude which society feels toward it. Therefore our center group of deputies consists only of deputies elected on the Sajudis platform.

In our opinion it is obvious that the Sajudis deputies [words indistinct] are of various convictions and political aspirations. There are the supporters of radical political and social means, and also those who foster diplomatic long-term strategic methods.

The work of the parliament in the past three months has exposed temperate and radical Sajudis deputies and this is a prerequisite for those groups to prepare their projects and submit them for consideration.

Our group gives priority to moderate parliamentary methods. At the same time we think that the differenciation of parliament into constructive factions will help the Supreme Council to work faster and, what is most important, more constructively. It will better stabilize Lithuania's political and social situation.

This statement is signed by Romas Gudaitis, Albinas Januska, Vilius Baldisis, Petras Vaitiekunas, Albertas Simenas, Rimvydas Valatka, Jonas Prapiestis, Eugenijus Petrovas, Audrius Rudys, Jonas Simenas, Jonas Tamulis, Egidijus Bickauskas, Virgilijus Kacinskas, Nijole Ozelyte, Stasys Kropas, Aloizas Sakalas.

Supreme Council Discusses Defense, Elects Judges

LD2106203290 Vilnius Domestic Service in Lithuanian 1900 GMT 21 June 90

[Text] The Lithuanian Supreme Soviet Council continued its work today. A statement by 16 deputies was read out proposing that a center faction of deputies be formed at the Supreme Council.

The deputies started debates on draft laws on the country's defense service. They were presented by Ceslovas Stankevicius, deputy chairman of the Supreme Council.

Debates then followed.

The next to speak and answer questions were Saulius Butkevicius, general director of the country's defense department, and Ceslovas Stankevicius. The deputies in the first reading approved the draft law on the country's defense and passed it on for additional discussions in the permanent commissions. The examination of the second document —the draft law on the country's defense service—was postponed until a separate decision is reached.

The session also examined the elections of judges to the Supreme Court of the republic of Lithuania. The candidatures of the judges who were not elected in the first round of the elections were examined. Mindaugas Bausys, chairman of the Supreme Court, presented the candidates. Kazimieras Motieka, deputy chairman of the Supreme Council, stated that these candidatures have been examined at the Supreme Council Presidium and have been approved. Jonas Prapiestis, chairman of the commission of the legal system, spoke on behalf of his commission. Seven judges were elected to the Lithuanian Supreme Court.

Then debates started on the appointment of the state controller. Vytautas Landsbergis, chairman of the Supreme Council, proposed Deputy Kazimieras Uoka for this post. The candidate to this post spoke and answered questions, and debates followed. According to a decision by the Supreme Council, Kazimieras Uoka was appointed state controller of the Republic of Lithuania.

[Moscow TASS in English at 2309 GMT on 21 June in a similar report on the Lithuanian Supreme Council session adds the following information: "The Lithuanian League of Freedom organized a meeting near the republic's palace where the parliament session was held. The meeting was held under the motto 'Moratorium is a death to Lithuanian's Freedom.'"]

Lithuanian Resolution on Citizenship Adopted

LD2106231890 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1700 GMT 21 Jun 90

[From the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] A report from Vilnius tells of the decisions of the Lithuanian Supreme Soviet session. I paid attention above all to the fact that the government's proposal for a moratorium in respect of the well known act on restoring the independence of the Lithuanian state has as yet not been included in the work program of the parliament.

[Correspondent A. Paulyus] The morning session of the Lithuanian Supreme Soviet began today with discussion of draft laws on the protection of the territory and on obligations regarding its protection. The talk was about armed formations. The discussion will be continued. [video shows deputies at the session, with Landsbergis in the chair]

A resolution was adopted on the question of citizenship. A person who has acquired citizenship of the Lithuanian republic, the document says, is considered to have lost his citizenship of another state. Apparently this applies also to his citizenship of the USSR.

The government's proposal that the possibility be discussed of a moratorium in respect of the act on restoring the independence of the Lithuanian state has not been included in the parliament's work program before the weekend. It is being discussed in the lobbies.

Yesterday evening there was a meeting here of USSR people's deputies, who are officially called former deputies in our republic. The fact is that the republic's parliament has adopted a resolution whereby the USSR people's deputies elected by the people of Lithuania are deprived of their status. They have been left the status of advisers to the Supreme Soviet of the Lithuanian republic.

New Lithuanian Radio, TV Chief Appointed

LD2006112590 Vilnius International Service in English 2130 GMT 19 Jun 90

[Text] Today the Lithuanian parliament approved a new director general of the Lithuanian Radio and Television. Skirmantas Valiulis is 52 and not affiliated to any party. He is well known as a film and TV critic and is also head of the Lithuanian cinematographic union. For the last 10 years or so he has been a lecturer of journalism at Vilnius University.

Lithuanian Farms Request Assistance

LD2106213690 Vilnius Domestic Service in Lithuanian 1900 GMT 21 Jun 90

[Excerpts] According to information from the Department of Statistics, by 20 June the state and collective farms have cut three percent of natural and sown grasses. The preparation of all kinds of grass feed, calculated in feed units per average animal, amounted to 1.7 quintals. This is not enough. For comparison, last year by the same time 3.3 quintals were laid in. [passage omitted]

Assistance must be obtained for the laying in of feed. Because of the blockade many people are not employed. There would be work for the students and pupils on vacation. One must take care and agree, states a commentary by the Ministry of Agriculture. There is little time left. [passage omitted]

There is a great shortage of fuel in the countryside.

Citizens' Committee Issues Appeal on Anniversary

PM2206144390 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 22 Jun 90 First Edition p 3

[Report by TASS correspondent S. Bykhun under the "Direct Line" rubric: "Day of Remembrance and Grief"]

[Text] Vilnius—In connection with the impending 49th anniversary of the treacherous attack on the Soviet Union by Hitler's Germany, the Lithuanian SSR [Soviet Socialist Republic] Citizens' Committee has adopted an appeal to the republic's inhabitants, which says, in particular: "22 June is a day of remembrance and grief. We have not forgotten the exultation with which Lithuanian bourgeois nationalists greeted the outbreak of war, how they shot servicemen from the Soviet Army and the Border and Internal Troops in the back, hunted down communists and Komsomol [All-Union Leninist Communist Youth League] members with weapons in hand, and swore loyalty to Hitler... Some 5,000 Soviet activists died at their hand during the first days of the war alone. The annihilation of Lithuania's Jewish population rests on their conscience.

"The leaders of antisocialist forces are trying to persuade the Lithuanian people that the Soviet Union's victory in the Great Patriotic War brought Lithuania nothing but countless casualties and privations. This is known to be false. The fact that our republic now has a developed economy and powerful intellectual potential was achieved is due not only to the dogged labor of the Lithuanian people and other inhabitants of this region, but also to the 130,000 Soviet fighters who laid down their lives to liberate Soviet Lithuania from the brown plague.

"On this day—a day of remembrance and grief—we firmly say: 'No to fascism and terror!' We will not allow our socialist system to be destroyed and capitalism to be revived within our republic."

The TASS correspondent was told by V. Dobychin, deputy chairman of the Lithuanian SSR Citizens' Committee, that rallies will be held in the republic 22 June and flowers will be laid on the tombs of the victims of the fascist terror and the Soviet soldiers.

Estonian Supreme Soviet, Party Congress Viewed

LD2106142590 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1230 GMT 21 Jun 90

[Report over video by correspondent V. Velman in Tallinn—from the "Television News Service" program]

[Text] Two events took place at the same time in Tallinn today. The 11th session of the Supreme Soviet of the Estonian republic continued its work, as did the 20th congress of the Communist Party of Estonia. I will elaborate at once. Participating in the party congress are these delegates who, after the split in the Communist Party of Estonia, united on the platform of ideological

and organizational unity with the CPSU. [video shows congress delegates in the hall and on the rostrum]

However, first of all, about the session. The draft law on immigration was the central agenda today, and its essence can be expressed thus: for the creation of conditions for protecting the republic from an uncontrolled flow of immigration affecting demography; for the principle of the deployment of production forces; and for a guarantee of the civic and political rights for the permanent inhabitants of Estonia.

Unfortunately, many of the deputies of the Supreme Soviet of the republic did not part in this discussion today since they were present at the congress of the Communist Party of Estonia. [video switches to interview with Aleksandr Gusev, secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Estonia on the platform of the CPSU]

[Gusev] Well, this congress is the continuation of that 20th Congress of the Communist Party of Estonia which was continued by 137 delgates to the congress who did not agree with the program adopted and discussed at the congress, who did not agree with the main principles of that program—that the Communist Party of Estonia supports the secession of Estonia from the Soviet Union and proclaims the creation of an independent Communist Party of Estonia which, both ideologically and organizationally, will not be part of the CPSU in the future.

[Velman] Summing up the results of the political discussion in Estonia today, I have to note with regret that in many substantial questions we do not yet have the desired unity, and this is hindering a constructive solution of the vital problems of the day. Vladimir Velman, specially for Television News Service.

Estonian Paramilitaries Become More Active

PM0606133390 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 6 Jun 90 Second Edition p 2

[TASS report: "Ultimatum to Liberators"]

[Text] The district council of the Estonian city of Valga has put an ultimatum to the Baltic Military District: If a tank is not removed from its pedestal by 20 June, national forces will cast it down.

It is a question of the monument erected on the city outskirts in honor of the 35th anniversary of Valga's liberation from the fascists. The legendary T-34 symbolized the courage of the servicemen of the 51st Separate Tank Regiment, which together with other units and large units of the 1st Shock Army drove the Nazi occupiers from the city. More than 8,000 Soviet servicemen died in the fighting at that time, while almost 30,000 people died in the city concentration camp at the hands of the Estonian nationalists of the "Omakaitse" subunits. Those who died included Estonian patriots who struggled against the occupiers.

...The explosion that thundered out during the night of 2-3 April destroyed the monument and provoked a wave of protest throughout the country. Veterans of the regiment and all who liberated the Baltic region from the fascists demanded that the criminals who had committed the act of vandalism be found and severely punished. However, they have still not been found, and danger once again threatens the T-34 which has taken the place on the pedestal of its combat friend crippled by the explosion. The district council, on which power has been seized by representatives of the Estonian People's Front and by extremists from various nationalist paramilitary formations, has now conceived the intention of eliminating the monument.

They are growing in the republic like weeds in a forgotten field. What other view can one take of the open preparations for a reunion of veterans of the 20th SS Division, the "Omakaitse" battalions, and the "green brothers" detachments—preparations that are being propagandized widely in the Estonian-language mass media? The hands of that army are stained with the blood of the Russian, Belorussian, and Estonian peoples.

It is planned to hold a gathering of Estonian fascists and goons in the settlement of Tori in Parnu district 7-9 July. The venue has not been chosen by chance. It was there that fascist accomplices hunted down partisans of Ilmar Jurisson's detachment, shot local activists, and assisted the 217th German Infantry Division in fighting the Parnu and the 4th and 7th Tallinn Hunter Battalions. Many fighting cocks remember these places for the postwar bandit lairs and bloody deeds. It is true that EESTI EKSPRESS calls this whole sinister army "freshmen and high school kids who rushed into battle against Stalinism," but who will believe this, knowing that each one made his own choice and that the SS division and battalions were formed on a strictly voluntary basis? Estonian SS officers also participated voluntarily in punitive operations both in the Baltic region and in Russia and Belorussia. It is they who are disturbed by monuments.

Not only former goons and "green brothers" are flocking together. Thousands-strong "Kaitseliit" detachments have been placed beneath banners of national exclusivity in Estonia. It is openly declared here that there are more than 40,000 people in these formations. "Eesti Kodukaitse" detachments took the oath in City Hall Square beneath national banners. Andrus Eevel, chief of staff of these formations, declared that he has 3,000 "soldiers of order" under his command. They are subordinate to the security service of the People's Front and can at any moment obtain weapons from the storehouses of the republic Ministry of Internal Affairs, because "Kodukaitse" is legislatively subordinate to Internal Affairs Minister Olev Laanjarv. It is no coincidence that even the Estonian People's Front leaders call this man the strongest personality in Estonia. The way this personality's features will be manifested can be judged from the results of the investigation into the criminals who

destroyed the Valga monument in April, from the provocative actions of young students in Tartu, and from the "green regiment's" extremist sallies in other cities in the republic.

The rapid growth of paramilitary formations and the active rehabilitation of fascist myrmidons make one mistrust Marju Lauristin's statements at the Congress of Russian People's Deputies. Far-reaching interests lie behind the blandness of her formulas. Counting on the support of "Democratic Russia," the founder of the Estonian People's Front and the leader of the right-wing nationalist wing of the Estonian Parliament is seeking direct treaties with Russia to neutralize the center and obtain resources from Russian storerooms. It is a pity that the nationalists in Valga and Tallinn have learned badly the lessons of history. You can blow up a tank, but you cannot efface from the Estonian people's memory the heroism and the great sacrifices of Soviet people in liberating the Baltic region from the occupiers.

Estonian Supreme Soviet To Work Until 1 July

LD1606130290

[Editorial Report] Tallinn Estonian Television Network in Estonian at 1800 GMT on 11 June announced that at the 11 June session of the Estonian Supreme Soviet it was decided to extend its working hours and continue work until 1 July when a summer recess will commence.

Ownership Reforms To Be Discussed in Estonia

LD1606120890 Tallinn Domestic Service in Estonian 1700 GMT 15 Jun 90

[Excerpts] Ott Kool will briefly sum up today's session of the Estonian Committee.

[Kool] [passage omitted] For this reason I have asked Mrs. Liia Hanni, who is a deputy of both the Supreme Soviet and the Estonian Committee, (?to add) her comments.

[Begin Hanni recording] [passage omitted] The law on anticorruption should come up for discussion at the Supreme Soviet before summer recess. Now, in order to change over completely to privatization and to fully implement the ownership reform we need first and foremost a political agreement about what attitude is to be taken with respect to the 1940 ownership right. And this agreement we must achieve both at the Supreme Soviet, as well as at the Estonian Committee. Once we have said firmly what our attitude is toward the rights of previous owners—do we consider it possible to restore the right of ownership—we can start discussing specifically how in essence the ownership reform is to be implemented, what kind of property is to be privatized, and how one is to go about it. [end recording]

Leningrad Official Offers Cooperation With Estonia

LD0606100890 Tallinn Domestic Service in Estonian 1700 GMT 5 Jun 90

[Text] A telegram has arrived for Edgar Savisaar, prime minister of the republic of Estonia, from Anatoliy Sobchak, chairman of the Leningrad City Soviet. The telegram says that there is hope of mutual assistance between the Leningrad City Soviet and the government of the republic of Estonia. There is a readiness for cooperation on all issues without any mediators, Anatoliy Sobchak's telegram emphasizes.

Article Criticizes Planned Estonian Rally

PM0506134190 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 5 Jun 90 First Edition p 3

[Report by Colonel A. Yurkin under the "Direct LIne" rubric: "SS Rally"]

[Text] Tallinn—Estonian nationalists have launched extensive preparations in the republic for a grand assembly of veterans of the 20th Division, the "Omakaytse" ["Self-defense"] battalions and other formations which took an active part in the fighting against the Red Army and in punitive expeditions in Novgorod, Leningrad, and Pskov Oblasts, the Ukraine, and Belorussia. As the EESTI EKSPRESS reports, the "rally" will be held in the first 10 days of July at Tori in Parnu district. It was there on 7 July 1941 that the fascists' henchmen, acting "in the name of freedom, right, faith, and the supreme ideals of mankind," intercepted their fellow countrymen in the Parnu hunter battalion as they retreated from the German units' onslaught and treacherously opened fire on them. There were large-scale shootings of Soviet people in the Tammistu and Raekula woods. The murderers' victims included quite a few Estonian activists, communists, and Komsomol [All-Union Lenin Communist Youth League] members.

To mark the opening of this fascist orgy the nationalists have decided to destroy the monument to the Soviet tank troops from the 51st autonomous regiment, which took part in the liberation of Valga. At the start of April the legendary T-34 tank mounted on a plinth was attacked by extremists one night and damaged by an explosion. Now a new tank has been put in its place and the district council is peremptorily demanding that it be removed.

Estonian Pro-Moscow Party Continues Work

LD2106234590 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1700 GMT 20 Jun 90

[Interview with P.N. Panfilov, secretary of the Estonian Communist Party Central Committee, by correspondent H. Lenk in Tallinn on 20 June; from the "Vremya" newscast—recorded]

[Text] [Announcer] The 20th Congress of the Communist Party of Estonia, which stands for ideological and organizational unity within the CPSU, continued its work in Tallinn today:

[Lenk] The 20th Congress of the Communist Party of Estonia opened back in March. At that time, the decision to establish an independent Communist Party of Estonia was adopted by a majority of votes. However, some delegates—mainly representatives of the party committees of major union-subordinated industrial enterprises—continued working immediately after the close of the congress, and elected their own party Central Committee, which advocates the unity of the CPSU. It is the delegates from this group of Estonian communists who assembled today to continue the work of the 20th Congress.

[Panfilov] It was connected with drawing up a first balance-sheet of what has been done, and of what work has been carried out over this period: what our ranks look like, and what we have, and—most importantly—with making our proposals and conclusions and preparing for the 28th Congress.

[Lenk] All the same, is it thought that there are two communist parties or one in Estonia now? You have said that it is simpler in Latvia and Lithuania, but there is some kind of muddle here.

[Panfilov] Muddle is the right word. In fact—that is, de jure and de facto—we do not have two communist parties. However, going by the structures which are being formed here today, in essence we do, because a communist who has received an insert, a document, from the independent Communist Party of Estonia is already a member of a different party—let's put it like that. Thus, in this respect we do have two parties. [video, attributed to Estonian Television, shows congress in session, and Lenk and Panfilov in foyer]

Estonian Bank Chief Cited on New Currency

LD1606135190 Tallinn Estonian Television Network in Estonian 1800 GMT 11 Jun 90

[Summary] At today's meeting between Rein Otsason, president of the Estonian Bank, and the aktiv of the Union of Work Collectives, Otsason spoke of the expected difficulties in introducing the Estonian currency later in the year. He said that guarantees of the value of the new kroon are to allocate a sufficiently large initial capital and to remove excess money from circulation by selling enterprises to joint-stock companies, with a sale of shares, the selling of apartments, and bank certificates as a form of investment. Otsason also said that the work relations between the government and the Estonian Bank could be better.

Estonian Groups' Wartime Atrocities Recalled

PM0506121990 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 2 Jun 90 First Edition p 6

[Report by orrespondent Colonel A. Yurkin under the "Who's Who" rubric: "'Omakaytse' Sounds the Assembly. A Vigilante Organization Which Stained Its Flags with Blood During the War Years Has Reemerged"]

[Text] People who took part in the war wearing SS uniforms or the uniforms of national fascist organizations are nowadays often to be found making speeches about the past at the start of performances in the top Tallinn movie theaters where popular American films are shown and where many young people gather. These "guests," honored with awards by the "Great Reich," include many members of "Omakaytse," ("Self Defense")—an organization which faithfully served the occupiers and which was notable for its particular cruelty in marauding reprisals against those who did not support the "green brothers" [anti-Soviet outlaws] in the postwar years. Now the fascist hangers-on have not only been raised to the rank of "heroes of the struggle against Stalinism" but enjoy the special protection of the "Estonian Congress," which is bestowing on "Omakaytse" the role of a kind of political police.

Estonian mass media have recently been increasingly actively involved in the campaign to rehabilitate fascist organizations responsible for torturing to death or shooting many thousands of people. The youth periodical, for example, publishes a "documentary" story about the "Erna" espionage-sabotage group. Photographs from the war depict depict murderers and provocateurs whose hands are stained with the blood of the Estonian, Russian, and Belorussian peoples.

In rehabilitating butchers and murderers, the defenders of the "national spirit" unashamedly falsify historical events and cast doubt on documents that testify to the criminal activity of fascist nationalistic formations. For instance, the number of people killed in Estonia during the occupation is questioned. An editorial in VECHERNYY TALLINN unashamedly calls the figure a "myth." All this, it stands to reason, suits the reemerged "Omakaytse," since it was nationalists from that formation who in their time were involved in the shootings in Narva and Valga, carried out punitive operations in neighboring republics, and fought against the partisan movement. It is known for sure that members of the same pro-fascist organization hunted down, arrested, and killed Leen Kulman, the brave Estonian intelligence agent, because she called them traitors to the Estonian people.

A lot of things are changing in Estonia now, and a lot of things are being forgotten. Thus the name of L. Kulman is no longer mentioned in her home town of Tartu, where she was tortured by the fascist butchers. Instead, provocation against the Soviet Army is organized openly,

while veterans of the "struggle against Stalinism" address rowdy mobs of young people.

People are now trying to justify those who helped the Hitlerites by saying that they supposedly had no choice but to serve in "Omakaytse" or the German army. The punitive actions in which they participated are being passed off as innocent misunderstandings, their casualties clearly exaggerated by "Bolshevik propaganda."

The truth about the Klooga concentration camp, where thousands of citizens of Jewish nationality were killed, is being particularly carefully concealed. People were brought there not only from the occupied territories of other countries and republics, but also from Estonian towns. And what else could they do but try to hide it, when it was again "Omakaytse" subunits that were shooting the inmates. These are not rumors—the acts of genocide are set out in documents. So the attempts by the authors of the Tallinn city newspaper article "In the Name of Justice" to convince readers that the punishment squads showed some kind of humanity by leaving 108 people alive out of those locked up in the Klooga camp can only be called blasphemous. Such opinions look strange to say the least, when you recall that the Nazi war criminals are being sought worldwide to this day, and no term of limitation applies to their "feats."

Estonians who opposed the fascist invasion in 1941 with weapons in their hands and then in battle liberated their native land from the occupiers and their underlings cannot explain, understand, or accept what is happening. And it is not by chance that today there are attempts to cast a shadow on them, to blacken their names, slander them, and humiliate them. With the help of M. Lauristin, E. Savisaar, and other People's Front leaders, the true patriots of this land have been relegated to the rank of "occupiers," deprived of all privileges, including those granted them not by the republic but by the Union government. But they are not giving in; they are holding their heads high.

"My flag remains red," war veteran Academician Gustav Naan says. "I accept no other!"

This front-line fighter, who proclaims his views openly, is expressing the opinion of many representatives of the older generation. To try to block their influence on young people, the People's Front leaders have formed and are making active use of paramilitary assault detachments. Here, young people are trained in the spirit of the ideas of "national loyalty and exclusivity." "Erna" agents, Wehrmacht medal holders, Kaitseliit [Estonian Defense Union] members, and of course, "Omakaytse" butchers are constantly held up as examples to be imitated. This kind of "education" is already bearing fruit. Extremist actions by the "green regiment" against the military have become habitual. Activists from the newly recreated "Eesti Kodukaytse" security service have repeatedly tried to attack officers and soldiers. A message recently appeared on the wall of a building at an Air Force installation: "Pray to god, because you don't have long to live." Draftees are being increasingly actively drawn into the orbit of national-separatist passions...

"We are being presented as nationalists with brass knuckles," Andrus Eevel, one of the organizers of the nationalist formations, says in an offended tone. "But we uphold social order and ensure security."

T. Chernavtseva, a participant in the workers' rally in the square in front of Toompea Castle, explains who it is they are "defending democracy" against and whose security they are guaranteeing: "Thugs trained in karate and sambo were supplied with walkie-talkies and brass knuckles. I personally had the pleasure of feeling the latter in my back." Other witnesses spoke about the activity of the thugs who dispersed the rally. They suppose, not without reason, that this was a test of strength on behalf of the same "Omakaytse."

No matter how thoroughly the well-wishers from the People's Front and the congress of Estonian citizens try to clean the blood from the mantle of this pro-fascist organization, they will not succeed. Its members' reputation as assistants to the SS and the SD and as punitive troops is too heavily stained. Indeed, the Estonian people still retain in their memories the atrocities of those nationalists, whose successors today believe that their hour has come and that the past is returning.

Latvian Commission Investigates Desertions

LD1206112790 Riga Domestic Service in Latvian 1730 GMT 7 Jun 90

[Excerpts] [passage indistinct] Two hours ago the newly-formed commission of the Supreme Soviet of Latvia, with a long and complicated title—the Commission for the Examination of Applications from those Persons Called Up for Military Service, who have been driven to desert from the USSR Armed Forces because of the unbearable and humiliating circumstances of service ended its first session. The commission includes jurists, doctors, and a member of the Republic's Military Commissariat, [a representative of] the Latvian Riflemen's Association, as well as a representative of the League of Women. At present, of course, no one can say how many youths who have been called up in Latvia have deserted so far this year. According to data at the disposal of the League of Women, the number runs into three figures. [passage omitted] Thus it is clear that young men who have abandoned [their] place of service prefer to hide, to keep on the run, subjecting themselves to unending peril, and do not, as the law lays down, report to the Military Commissariat.

Therefore, the new commission of the Supreme Soviet of Latvia invites all young men who have abandoned their places of service and who have returned to Latvia to report themselves, because the commission will examine every application. We remind you of the telephone number of the chief secretary of the commission, Anita Stankevica, 210376.

New Latvian Pension Law Discussed

LD1606084490 Moscow TASS in English 0819 GMT 16 Jun 90

[By LETA correspondent Igor Kovalenko]

[Text] Riga June 16 TASS—The Latvian parliament's standing commission on social welfare and health care is discussing a new bill on pensions that is expected to go into effect on January 1, 1991.

The bill envisages a uniform pension system based on the length of labour service and personal income.

The draft law will also introduce social pensions. These will be given, for instance, to pension-age dependents. The old law envisaged additional payments to those who supported dependents.

Minimum pensions will be set at the minimum subsistence level, which is yet to be set by the government.

Old-age pensions will depend on the base salary and earnings for moonlighting, that is, on all taxable earnings.

All working pensioners, and not only workers and foremen under the current legislation, will have the right to get both pensions and wages.

If a person refuses to retire and continues working after the pension-age, his pension will be increased 10 per cent for every full year of work, but no longer than for three years, the bill says.

Those who are getting pensions from the Defence and Interior Ministries and the Committee for State Security will continue to do so, Latvian Social welfare Minister Uldis Gundars said.

'Tougher' Stance for Latvia Comments Criticized

90UN2070A Moscow RABOCHAYA TRIBUNA in Russian 8 Jun 90 p 1

[Article by RABOCHAYA TRIBUNA staff correspondent V. Proskura: "Without False Modesty"]

[Text] We look at the quote: "I believe Albania will provide a good example for Latvia. Albania is the only country in which socialism has been built—as opposed to Cuba, the USSR, or Sweden. Only people who came out openly against...were arrested, so to say. We should recall that not a single revolution—including of a bourgeois nature—was accomplished without blood."

These lines do not come from a government pronouncement. Nor do they come from a declaration of some sociopolitical organization, of which there are dozens in Latvia. This is an excerpt from a conversation with one Andrey Kuznetsov, who represents RADIO TIRANA in Riga. The interview with the interviewer took place in the first issue, the policy issue of BALTIYSKOYE VREMYA [BALTIC TIMES]. This is the name under which the Russian-language version of ATMODA has begun being published. ATMODA is the press organ of the People's Front (40 kopecks in Latvia, 80 or more outside the republic). Insofar as the Latvian People's Front today represents the "ruling bloc" which has formed the Council of Ministers and other high echelons of authority in the republic, special attention is directed to its newspaper.

True, the RADIO TIRANA correspondent gives no specific directives. He simply counsels, outlines the desired perspective. But we would have to wonder why the Latvian People's Front mouthpiece would be afforded the opportunity to present "neo- Bolshevist"—using the terminology of BALTIYSKOYE VREMYA itself—propaganda. It turns out that the foreign correspondent also approves of the "Declaration of Independence" of the Latvian Supreme Soviet.

Kuznetsov's neighbor in the newspaper column—Robert Ostrovskiy, staff reporter for DEUTSCHE WELLE in Riga—goes further, instructing the republic parliament leadership: "I think that, as chairman, Gorbunov should be tougher..."

The vigilant radio announcer from Cologne points out that in the speeches of internationalist deputies "there are traces of relying on assistance coming from presidential rule" (a reference, as everyone understands, to the USSR president). Later on there is more—"Evolution within the framework of...the USSR cannot help but run straight into a concrete wall, which will have to be penetrated."

Perhaps these are the personal emotions and ambitions of a motley crew of staff and freelance reporters? Might all this be proceeding from a reduced level of morality, a lack of professional and personal culture of certain individuals? But does a lead article not impart the tone of principle to a newspaper, as taught in the school of journalism, "reflecting the views of the editorial board and publisher"? Yes, newspaper items are prefaced with "the editor's column." We learn from it that ATMODA is the source, the first impulse, after which "a new reference point of time" has been established for the people.

Baltic Leaders Address Jurmala Assembly

LD1606140890 Vilnius Domestic Service in Lithuanian 1300 GMT 16 Jun 90

[Text] The second Baltic assembly started today in Jurmala. It was opened by the first deputy chairman of the Latvian Supreme Soviet, Ivans.

The assembly is attended by Vyautas Landsbergis, chairman of the Supreme Council of the republic of Lithuania. Our chairman of the Supreme Council noted in his speech that the Baltic assembly was a continuation of the advance by Lithuania, Latvia, and Estonia.

"Two years have elapsed since we started advancing along the road toward democracy and our independence.

and we had consultations in the search for the most rational solution. Times are troubled and difficult. New tasks have emerged. A new Baltic way is essential toward complete independence, Vytautas Landsbergis noted.

Leaders of the Estonian and Latvian national fronts addressed the assembly today. The agenda is rather extensive, it includes meetings with the Soviet Union's democratic forces; representatives of the Latvian and Estonian national fronts and of the Sajudis will discuss how to jointly apply for the participation of the Baltic states in the Helsinki process. Many resolutions are to be adopted by the assembly.

More on Assembly

PM2206104590 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 19 Jun 90 p 3

[Report by correspondents G. Sapozhnikov and K. Narkaryan under the "Reporting Details" rubric: "Balto-Scandia: One Year On"]

[Text] Jurmala—"Do not spin the brightly colored globe, you will not find it there"—so the old song goes. The countries of Balto-Scandia are not to be found in any geographical reference book.

The term Balto-Scandia was used for the first time at the First Baltic Assembly of the people's movements of Lithuania, Latvia, and Estonia in Tallinn in May last year. We came across its symbol—a rainbow comprising the national colors of the formerly banned but now officially recognized state flags—in Jurmala, too. It was there that the Second Baltic Assembly was held Saturday 16 June.

The past assembly's documents may already be confidently regarded as historical relics because they were signed by people who were then informal leaders but are now important statesmen. The "informal" Landsbergis now heads the Lithuanian Supreme Soviet, the "informal" Savisaar is prime minister of another independent government—Estonia's—and the "informal" Ivans is first deputy chairman of the Latvian Supreme Soviet. And the idea of Baltic cooperation itself, which last year seemed far-fetched, has now been confirmed at state level. Virtually all the documents of the First Baltic Assembly have been implemented.

We are not going to claim that the Second Baltic Assembly will resolve all the new questions. Unlike the first, it was both shorter and, to be blunt, more boring. We spoke out, we gave vent to our pain. It was harder to "take revenge" ["stroit i mest"]. And life has not improved. Second, the center of the democratic struggle has somehow unexpectedly switched to Russia...

"History is repeating itself," R. Razukas, chairman of the Latvian People's Front Duma Board, noted at a press conference. "Just as in 1918-1919, we awaited help and the realization of our independence from the West but it came from the East."

Many people at the Baltic Assembly wondered: Are assemblies and people's fronts themselves necessary at all in the changed political situation, when these social movements have secured a majority in the parliaments?

"They are. Our people's movements, as well as the Baltic Assembly which unites them, must be the threads which link broad strata of society and the elected authorities," V. Landsbergis said at the opening of the Second Baltic Assembly.

The assembly adopted a package of documents aimed at securing full state independence.

This will be no shock to anyone any more. Just like the concept of "private property," "market economy," and "denationalization of production," which were also discussed at the assembly.

Let us also note that we are no longer shocked by the phrase "Declaration of Independence." Who would have thought just one month ago that even Russia would adopt its own declaration. The Baltic now pins new hopes on that. The assembly adopted an appeal to the Russian Supreme Soviet on the solution of interstate relations with Latvia, Lithuania, and Estonia on the principles of the 1920 peace treaties.

Military Paper Views Baltic Assembly Discussions

PM2106141590 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 19 Jun 90 First Edition p 4

[Dispatch by Colonel M. Ziyeminsh under the "Direct Line" rubric: "Baltic Assembly"]

[Text] Riga—The second sitting of the Baltic Assembly was held in the resort town of Jurmala. In the year since the assembly's first sitting, the disposition of political forces in the republic has changed substantially. And the main point is that representatives of people's movements won majorities in the local soviets and parliaments, and essentially became the determining political force in their republics. The communist parties, on the other hand, were defeated, and as a result found themselves in the role of the opposition in the republic parliaments. This was stated at the sitting of the Baltic Assembly which has just taken place.

On what should efforts be concentrated and what should be done next? This was the main question on the assembly's agenda, and it was examined in the context of the sociopolitical processes occurring both in the Baltic republics themselves and in mutual ties with democratic movements in the USSR, and also in the context of European security. A whole series of documents determining tactics and basic directions of activity for the coming year were adopted. The appeal to the RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic] contains a call to return the principles of the 1920 peace agreements, which "the Soviet Union grossly violated in 1940," to interstate relations with Latvia, Lithuania, and Estonia. The theme of the "occupation" was once again

"looked at" in close-up at the sitting. A special document was even adopted on this question under the title "On the Soviet Union's Continuing Occupation of the Baltic States." By all accounts, it was timed to coincide with the 50th anniversary of the restoration of Soviet power in the Baltic republics, which is being observed this year.

The fact that, on the basis of this resolution, the Baltic Assembly instructed the Baltic Council to list the criminal actions of the "occupying forces" in Estonia, Latvia, and Lithuania, is also interesting. At the moment it is not known what kind of a document this will be, but there is next to no doubt that it will not decrease the unhealthy passions around the Armed Forces in the region.

RSFSR

Report on 22 June Russian Party Congress

LD2206085190 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 0800 GMT 22 Jun 90

[Text] At 1000 today, the morning session of the fourth day in the work of the Russian Communist Party Congress started in Moscow. The delegates honored with a minute of silence the memory of those who gave their lives during the years of the Great Fatherland War in the struggle against the German fascist invaders. An hour earlier the participants visited the Grave of the Unknown Soldier by the Kremlin Wall and laid a wreath.

At the present time, candidates for the post of first secretary of the Central Committee of the RSFSR Communist Party are presenting their programs.

21 June Communist Party Constituent Congress

Kuptsov Speaks

LD2106211390

[Editorial Report] Moscow Television Service in Russian at 1910 GMT on 21 June begins carrying a recorded relay of the 21 June proceedings of the RSFSR (Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic) Communist Party Constituent Congress in Moscow. Before the relay begins, a studio announcer says: The delegates of the inaugural congress of the RSFSR Communist Party decided today not to broadcast speeches on procedural questions. Since the work of the congress today was connected with the resolution of such questions, a detailed television account has not been included in our program. The day's results at the congress were summed up in a report on the "Vremya" program.

The video then shows Delegate Kuptsov from Vologda outlining for the congress his career to date. He gives his views on the place of the Communist Party in the Russian Federation. The time is ripe for an RSFSR Communist Party, he says. He has been a member of the Russian Bureau.

At 1915 GMT Kuptsov speaks about the duty of the party to protect the interests of the working class, about the need for ideals. The main thing today is to return to people faith in the correctness of the October Revolution. Of course we carry responsibility for the correctness of the decisions that are made. He speaks about linking the market with the socialist principles of society.

At 1919 GMT Kuptsov goes on to speak about education and culture. There must be a broad program for the spiritual renewal of Russia. Full-value Russian radio and television and book publishing must be provided. He says the party must work out a strong policy for youth. We must ensure that young people want to join the party. We must establish sound relations between Soviets at all levels.

At 1921 GMT Gorbachev, in the chair, asks for questions. A deputy from the floor asks for an explanation of the delay in providing documents by the preparatory committee. Kuptsov says that essentially the preparatory committee did everything it had to: the fault lies with the duplicating service.

At 1922 GMT a delegate asks for Kuptsov's attitude to events at the RSFSR First Congress of People's Deputies—and the declaration on sovereignty. Kuptsov says it was one of the main achievements of the congress. The fact that the congress is finding its work difficult is only to be expected—it is the first time that this has been done.

At 1924 GMT a delegate asks for Kuptsov's views on why Central Committee decisions on agricultural matters are not being fulfilled. Kuptsov says that the Central Committee has lost control over fulfillment of decisions at the oblast and regional level. It is not doing enough to encourage fulfillment. It was a mistake to have held the March plenum on agriculture without providing the necessary back-up for fulfillment. Resources have actually fallen.

At 1926 GMT a delegate says that people at a named factory are not satisfied with the progress of decision-making a the congress. Kuptsov says that the problem of dissatisfied workers leaving the party is one of the most serious problems that we face today. The measures to be taken at the 28th party congress will enable us to restore authority in the party, Kuptsov says. In reply to a second question from this delegate, Kuptsov says the question of privileges has to be looked into.

At 1928 GMT a delegate asks about delegation of powers; and his view on subscriptions. He says the delegation of powers should be from the bottom upwards. The whole situation with regard to party subscriptions should be made known: he believes that they should be at the rate of two percent.

At 1930 GMT Fedoseyev from Magadan asks a question and is told that Kuptsov has held meetings with representatives of the initiative congress. Staff of the Central Committee are involved.

At 1931 GMT a woman delegate asks for further elucidation on Kuptsov's views about privileges—does he believe they should exist or not? People are in difficult situations as far as food supplies are concerned. Kuptsov says it's difficult for him to talk about Moscow. He can speak only for the situation in Vologda.

At 1933 GMT a delegate asks about Kuptsov's attitude towards Yeltsin—how would he work with him if made first secretary?

Kuptsov relates the history of the dealings he has had with Yeltsin over several years. Boris Nikolayevich earns his votes and a wide group of voters support him. But Boris Nikolayevich is changing. If elected first secretary, I'm sure Boris Nikolayevich would listen to me, he says.

Melnikov Outlines Position

LD2106221490

[Editorial Report] Moscow Television Service in Russian at 1934 GMT on 21 June continues to carry a recorded relay of the 21 June session of the RSFSR Communist Party Constituent Congress in Moscow.

Deputy Kuptsov answers written questions: When will we be able to abolish rationing? He answers: We cannot say. Much time will be needed to put the food supply situation right. What are we going to do for the countryside? He says there will be results in two or three years' time. Investments are going to be needed.

At 1937 GMT Kuptsov is asked about how he sees the relative status of different communist parties. He says a mechanism has to be worked out. The rules allow wide independence.

At 1939 GMT Chairman Gorbachev invites Melnikov to take the floor. Melnikov thanks those who have nominated him for the post of first secretary. I have already outlined my position earlier, Melnikov says. He speaks about the events in the Kuzbass have forced him continuously to revise his ideas. He has been there for a year and a half, but the present conditions make every month equal to a year. He expresses gratitude to the local communists and the miners for the way he has been received.

At 1941 GMT Melnikov says he was born in Orekhovo-Zuyevo: he outlines his career in Omsk, he joined the party, he worked in the Central Committee apparatus from 1986. Then came his work in the Kuzbass. He supports everything said in his earlier speech. The party must be a Leninist party. It must elevate the role of the primary party organizations. The local committees must decide questions. Melnikov doesn't like the word platform. It reminds him of a boat. But we must all row in the same direction. We must move more quickly to our goal—a better life. The party must ensure the power of the people, he says. The party must not avoid economic issues, but it must not get too involved in economic detail.

At 1946 GMT Melnikov continues that we must work at solving social problems, the problems of the countryside. The party must have its press organ and mass media. It must all be on a principled party basis. He says thank you for your trust.

At 1947 GMT Lazarev from Leningrad asks what is the dirt that the party has to get off his hands? And what is Ligachev's influence? He says we should get rid of immorality. He has worked with Ligachev for 17 years. We did common work in Siberia, we were working comrades.

At 1949 GMT Melnikov answers written questions: building policy requires thorough examination. Capital investment has not been properly directed.

At 1950 GMT voices from the floor protest against the questions being in written form.

At 1951 Melnikov answers written questions: how will he work with Yeltsin? He answers normally. Are you not too old at 60 for the job of first secretary? He says you are as old as you feel. How do you view the rights of minorities? Melnikov answers they have to be defended. What is your view on implementing the power of the primary party organizations? He answers that on ecology one has to trust the scientists and not be afraid. What does he think about the size of the ideal apparatus? Melnikov says it should be according to the principle of reasonable sufficiency. Has his conversion to the workers' cause been a sudden thing? He says there is a question about pluralism—it's all right if it is democratic.

At 1957 GMT a delegate asks a question from the floor: How can you get rid of the discrepancy between words and actions as far as providing development in Siberia is concerned? Melnikov says our work must be directed towards the creation of the right conditions.

At 1958 GMT a delegate from the floor asks which are the three most important acts of legislation he contemplates. What should be the prime task of the primary organization? Melnikov answers the social needs of the working man.

At 2000 GMT Melnikov is asked: With all your experience as a party worker, yesterday you attacked our general secretary. Why did yo do so?

Unfortunately, you are quoting distorted reports from IZVESTIYA. I reject criticism that I am trying to win popularity by making cheap criticism. I consider Gorbachev to be our recognized leader.

At 2002 GMT the question is asked: What is your view on General Makashov's speech? What did you do when the Kuzbass strikes broke out? The army is in difficulty and it deserves our help. We feel pain for the army today.

Shenin, Polozkov Speak

LD2106232990

[Editorial Report] Moscow Television Service in Russian at 2003 GMT on 21 June continues to carry a recorded relay of the 21 June session of the RSFSR Communist Party Constituent Congress in Moscow.

Deputy Shenin takes the floor. He talks about himself. Born in 1937 he is a building engineer, has worked in construction for 20 years. He has been in party work, he has been on party work in Afghanistan. He has already set out his political position yesterday. The task now is to consolidate all the healthy forces of our society, especially those of the Russian Federation. Communists of Russia must take great care to ensure that the CPSU remains united. We is the backbone, he says.

One of the party's main tasks is to understand its role in the current situation. We must do everything to ensure that we are represented at all levels of state power in a reliable way. We must implement the policies we work out all together, Shenin remarks.

At 2007 GMT Shenin is asked to account for his work in the Russian Bureau of the CPSU Central Committee. The bureau only existed for six months, but during that time it considered a great deal. It also did a great deal during the preparation of the current congress, but it would be naive to say that we did anything great in those six months. Shenin says that communists must take a most active party in the working out of political documents. Any party organization has to work to strengthen the economy at every enterprise.

At 2010 GMT Shenin is asked whether he is satisfied with the congress decisions? I'll tell you when the congress has completed its work, he replies. He answers other questions about party organizations at the lower levels.

At 2012 GMT he answers to the question whether he believes that the party program for an apartment for everyone by the year 2000 will be fulfilled, he replies that it is a complicated problem, it means that we have to increase our building base by a factor of 2.5 times.

At 2014 GMT Shenin is asked: You are a member of the Russian Bureau which has had a bad report, how do you see yourself as a leader? I have already given my view on the need for a party, it is not an easy question, this party has to be a consolidating force, Shenin replies.

There is dissatisfaction that pay rates differ at different enterprises, what would you do about it, Shenin is asked? As far as pay is concerned it should only be proportionate to the work that has been done. There should be freedom, but it should be monitored.

At 2018 GMT Ivan Kuzmich Polozkov takes the stand. He thanks the Rostov and Kursk Oblast comrades who nominated him as candidate for this post. Our party is sick, it needs to be cured and rescued from disintegration from within from the left and from the right. I didn't immediately decide to stand. I was wavering even yesterday. He gives details about himself: I am 55, an agricultural economist, from the Kursk Oblast. My whole life in the party apparatus has covered virtually all levels, chiefly on organizational work. You heard my speech yesterday. It wasn't my program, but it was my vision of the prospects for the development of our new Russian party. Let's put an end to the talking-shop in which we have now been engaged for several years. This remark is greeted by applause.

At 2025 GMT Polozkov answers questions about agriculture and defense. he says he has a highly positive attitude to the army and will use defense methods which already exist. He then reads out a note expressing complete support from the army delegation.

A questioner asks about an interview about Nina Andreyeva. I do not share the views of Nina Andreyeva. It's part of pluralism that Nina Andreyeva should express her views, Polozkov says. He says his hobby is work, but he enjoys drawing. He says: I am a party worker, and of course I think that I'm of greatest service in party work. But I have been a people's deputy. I know the pain of the Russian Federation, I know the difficulties here.

Deputies Question Polozkov

LD2106234190

[Editorial Report] Moscow Television Service in Russian at 2034 GMT on 21 June continues to carry a recorded relay of the 21 June session of the RSFSR Communist Party Constituent Congress in Moscow. Polozkov answers more questions from the floor. A deputy asks: What will you think if we bring in an age limit of 60 years for top posts? I'll accept it if it's adopted but it would be a bad decision, he replies.

Who would you choose as leader of our Central Committee Ideological Department? Polozkov says he needs time to think about that one.

At 2036 GMT there is a question about the redistribution of resources to solve the problems of the countryside. This question must be approached with caution he says, the resources have to be found to solve the particular problems and we have to consult the people about where the resources are going to come from. Polozkov then answers a question on how the slogan: "All power to the Soviets" can be given real content today.

At 2041 GMT Polozkov is asked whether is it right for reservists to be sent to Azerbaijan and Armenia? I never took those decisions when I was first secretary of the Krasnodar Kray, he answers.

At 2042 GMT he is asked: Some delegates say that the Leningrad and Moscow delegations are sabotaging the work of the congress. What is your view of this? I don't see the Moscow or Leningrad delegations getting in the way of our work, he replies.

At 2043 GMT a questioner asks: How do you explain your wavering as to whether you should stand or not? Why do you criticise democrats sometimes? I have never criticized democrats, Polozkov answers. It is difficult for me to answer the first question but I have to. Yesterday Gorbachev left my candidature out. You understand how I felt. I wanted to know why I hadn't been named. I know that there are contradictory views around my name. Things are being said about me in the press. Even PRAVDA described me as an extreme conservative. I understood that I was to blame for drawing attention to myself. You remember the case of the cooperatives. I have never fought against cooperatives and today there are more cooperatives in the Krasnodar Kray then anywhere else. We have fought against the swindlers. I wondered how this fuss surrounding my name would affect the new paty. The Krasnodar delegation criticized me for weakness of spirit. Other comrades advised me to stand because so many other names were being deleted from the list. So make your choice.

At 2051 GMT Gorbachev says there are three more speakers. The relay ends without further explanation.

'Text' of Russian Party Congress Declaration

LD2106221390 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1814 GMT 21 Jun 90

[Text] Moscow, 21 June (TASS)—Here is the full text of the declaration of the Constituent Congress of the RSFSR Communist Party, which was distributed here today:

Declaration by the Constituent Congress of the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic [RSFSR] Communist Party

We, the delegates of the Constituent Congress of the RSFSR Communist Party, expressing the will of the majority of communists in the republic, and aware of our great responsibility for the destiny of the country and the party, for Russia's future, proclaim the foundation of the RSFSR Communist Party within the body of a united CPSU which is in the process of reinvigorating itself.

Our decision is prompted by the following:

—the establishment of a genuine state, political and economic sovereignty of the RSFSR within the body of the USSR on the basis of a new union treaty;

—the growth of the national and political self-awareness of the peoples living on the territory of the RSFSR;

—the development and deepening of sociopolitical changes and the multiparty system which exists in practice in the republic;

—the need to consolidate society, to surmount the critical situation in the republic's economy, spiritual life and ecology, and to work out the best way of going over to a regulated market economy;

—the need to give the party a new spiritual and moral aspect, to strengthen the unity of the CPSU on the basis of its democratic renewal, and to assert the authority of the party grassroots;

The congress firmly and authoritatively declares that Russian communists are not laying claim to a special role within the CPSU. We have created the RSFSR Communist Party within the body of the CPSU, on the basis of joint policy documents and rules.

The congress reaffirms the principle of the complete equality of the communist parties of the union republics and regards the RSFSR Communist Party as an equal among equals.

The ideas of Marx, Engels and Lenin, which have been tested by time, and the spiritual resources and achievements of worldwide sociopolitical thought and culture provide the ideological and theoretical foundations of the party.

The RSFSR Communist Party expresses the interests of the working class, the peasantry, the intelligentsia and all sections of society which advocate the creation of an economically efficient, socially just and spiritually emancipated democratic system.

It is committed to the socialist choice and the communist perspective and it bases its activities on the principle of internationalism.

The RSFSR Communist Party upholds the idea of nationwide accord, civil peace and the unification of the republic's creative forces in the interests of society. We see the republic's Communist Party as being open to cooperation with all progressive social movements in the interests of the peoples of the Russian Federation. We declare that the Communist Party of our republic will live and work in conformity with the constitutions and laws of the RSFSR and the USSR, upholding its right to political leadership, winning the confidence of the people through its practical activities, pursuing its policies through communists working in the organs of state power and public organizations, and defending its representation in them at democratic elections.

Acting within the framework of the CPSU's policy documents, the RSFSR Communist Party intends to campaign consistently for the creation in our country of humane, democratic socialism, a rule-of-law state, a mixed economy, and the flourishing of the culture of all peoples living within Russia and the USSR.

Our republican party organization is coming into being at a difficult time. Serious tests await it. However, we are confident that the RSFSR Communist Party will become a mighty political factor in the revival of Russia, in the achievement of a high standard of living for its peoples, in the safeguarding of democracy and the social protection and security of people.

The prospects and future of the RSFSR Communist Party lie in unbreakable unity with the working masses, and in the cohesion and democratic unity of communists.

More on Declaration

LD2106194490 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1815 GMT 21 Jun 90

[Text] Moscow, 21 Jun (TASS)—Below is the text of the decision of the RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic] Communist Party Constituent Congress on the formation of the RSFSR Communist Party.

1. To set up the RSFSR Communist Party.

2. To ascertain that the RSFSR Communist Party unites the party organizations situated in the republic's territory and is a constituent part of the CPSU, being guided by its program documents and its statute and having the same party membership card.

3. The constituent congress elects Central Commitee first secretary, chairman of the Auditing Commission, Central Committee, and the Auditing Commission of the RSFSR Communist Party.

[Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian in its 22 June Single Edition in a similar report adds: "To acknowledge the need to form an RSFSR Communist Party Central Committee Politburo."]

4. To instruct the elected membership of the RSFSR Communist Party Central Committee to prepare proposals containing a specific action program regarding the agenda and the deadlines for holding the second stage of the constituent congress.

Russian Party Discusses Leadership Elections

LD2106122890 Moscow TASS in English 1154 GMT 21 Jun 90

[By TASS correspondents Leonid Vorontsov and Ivan Ivanov]

[Text] Moscow June 21 TASS—Participants in the congress of Russian communists, which on Wednesday night proclaimed the creation of a Communist Party of the Russian Federation, today approved the text of a resolution on the creation of the new party, which defines it as "a constituent part" of the Soviet Communist Party (CPSU).

The congress also approved a declaration determining principles on which the new party will act. It says, in particular, that the Communist Party of the republic was formed in the framework of the CPSU on the basis of "a single set of policy documents and rules." It proclaims respect for the Constitution and laws of the Russian Federation and the USSR.

The congress endorsed an appeal to the communist parties of constituent republics, saying that it regards the Communist Party of Russia "as equal among equals."

"We are firmly convinced that the Communist Party of the Russian Federation will become not only a powerful political factor of Russia's revival, but also strengthen the cohesion of our entire Union on the basis of a new Union treaty," the appeal runs.

The delegates decided to elect at the founding congress the first secretary of the party Central Committee, the Central Committee, the Control Commission and chairman of the Control Commission. In addition, the congress is to form a Russian Communist Party Politburo.

The timeframe of elections will continue to be discussed at the evening session. So far two points of view have been prevalent: Some believe that elections should be held without delay, while others suggest nominating candidates and discussing them at primary party organisations before going to the polls.

Congress Address to Republican Parties Reported

LD2106221990 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1829 GMT 21 Jun 90

[Text] Moscow, 21 Jun (TASS)—Below is the text of the address of the Constituent Congress of the RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic] Communist Party to the Union republics' communist parties.

On behalf of all communists of Russia we, delegates of the Constituent Congress of the RSFSR [as received], wish to address and to report this to all members of the CPSU of the fraternal Union republics: Conscious of our great responsibility for the future of this country and the party, for the future of Russia, and relying upon the will of party masses, we have proclaimed the formation of the RSFSR Communist Party within the single body of the CPSU which is undergoing the process of renewal.

Our decision has been prompted above all by the establishment of genuine state, political and economic sovereignty of the RSFSR within the body of the USSR on the basis of a new Union treaty.

In the declaration of the constituent congress we have stated with firmness and responsibility that Russia's communists lay no claim to a special role in the CPSU. We have created the RSFSR Communist Party within the body of the CPSU on the basis of the same program and state documents.

The congress confirms the principle of full equality among the Communist Parties of all the Union republics and considers the RSFSR Communist Party as equal among equals. It expresses the interests of the working class, the peasantry, the intelligentsia, and all layers of society advocating the setting up of an economically effective, socially just and spiritually liberated democratic political system.

The RSFSR Communist Party adheres to the socialist choice and the communist perspective and builds its activity upon the basis of equal cooperation among peoples, and of respect for the right of each people to determine its future independently and without coercion.

We are firmly convinced that the RSFSR Communist Party will not only become a powerful political factor in the rebirth of Russia, but also in the consolidation of the unity of the whole of our USSR on the basis of the new union treaty. Together with you we are ready to do everything possible to enable the 28th CPSU Congress to serve the cause of the consolidation of Communists and all progressive forces of society on the basis of everyone striving toward humane democratic socialism.

Acting in the framework of the constitution, of the laws of the USSR and the Union republics, we intend to struggle with you for the creation of a law-governed state, of a heterogeneous economy, and for the prosperity of the cultures of all peoples of our great country.

Gorbachev Terms Deputies' Criticism as 'Slander'

LD2106110590 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1015 GMT 21 Jun 90

[Report by TASS correspondent Igor Yefimov from the Kremlin]

[Text] Moscow, 21 Jun (TASS) - Mikhail Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, has categorically refuted the assertion, made several times at the founding congress of the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic [RSFSR] Communist Party, that he had made the proposal to move the country over to a regulated market economy without consulting with the party.

Taking the floor to reply following the latest such accusation, made by one of today's speakers, Mikhail Gorbachev said that they were aiming "to demonstrate that not everything was in order in the Central Committee and in the party."

The leader of the CPSU recalled that the radical economic reform had been supported at the CPSU Central Committee plenum and that this idea had been worked out in detail as a result of numerous consultations and meetings with representatives of various strata of the population.

He said that to think that the idea of the market had "fallen from the sky" and that it had "been thought up by someone and, like a night-time coup, submitted to knock the country off course, was slander."

The new economic strategy "is the idea of the party, indeed one of the most important ideas of perestroyka," the leader of the CPSU said.

Recognizing that critical remarks made in parliament, in the press, and among the public regarding the government program for going over to the market were just, Mikhail Gorbachev said that the program is now being worked on further. After that, once it is ready, it has to be submitted for discussion by the public, the party, and a plenum of the Central Committee, he said.

Mikhail Gorbachev called upon people not to suspect that someone intended surreptitiously "to transfer the country to a capitalist orientation." It is the concern of the leadership, the general secretary said, "to find new forms for living, to ennoble our society, and to improve people's lives".

Gorbachev Cited on Formation of Russian Party

LD2106113590

[Editorial Report] Moscow Domestic Service in Russian at 0830 GMT on 21 June carries an eight-minute report by correspondent Andrey Nikiforov on proceedings at the morning session of the Conference of Russian Communists, chaired by Lukyanov.

According to Nikiforov, work on a decision to set up the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic [RSFSR] Communist Party has been continuing. The first point was adopted yesterday: It says that a Communist Party of the RSFSR must be set up. The decision has four points in all, and the remaining points are now under discussion and many amendments have been suggested. The second point states that the Communist Party of the RSFSR unites the party organizations of the CPSU on the territory of the republic and is a part of the CPSU, being guided by its program documents and rules and having the same party membership card." Most amendments were on this point and most were defeated. (Pashintsev) suggested that the words "in the conditions of a multiparty system" be inserted after the words "territory of the republic," and this is accepted. The third point consists of two paragraphs. The first boils down to this: The constituent congress elects the first secretary, the Central Committee and the chairman of the control commission of the RSFSR Communist Party. The congress voted to accept it. One delegate said it would have been better to have the names of candidates for top posts in the new party pulished well in advance, together with their programs; candidacies should now be put forward, and voting should take place in two weeks, after the CPSU's 28th Congress has ended. Lukyanov asked Gorbachev to say a few words on this:

[Begin Gorbachev recording] "Everything being said here on this score is altogether worthy of attention. But this will become the subject of our discussion immediately after these documents have been promulgated. As soon as we have completed the process of adopting a decision on the establishment and a declaration, we will have to approve the agenda of the congress. All these questions will be included, and we will be working. Thus, comrades, what the constituent congress decides here is recorded. Twice, at the council of delegations, we

debated the question of how to elect, what should be done during the first stage and what during the second stage, in what proportions, as it were and upon what kind of principles. As soon as we approach this question, we will debate it right away, but for now it is only recorded, namely that the constituent congress [will do it] either during the first [stage] or the second, with or without the participation [as heard], to this or that extent; all that is ahead of us. I think that then we will all have our say properly. This is because I understand that during two sittings we spent approximately six hours in all on these questions." [end recording]

According to Nikiforov, the congress deemed it essential to set up a RSFSR Communist Party Central Committee Politburo. By the end of a short interval, which has just ended at the congress, the text of this decision was finally adopted. It will be published in the press.

TASS Summarizes Candidates for Party Leader

LD2106180390 Moscow TASS in English 1655 GMT 21 Jun 90

[By TASS correspondents Leonid Vorontsov and Boris Zverev]

[Text] Moscow June 21 TASS—Participants in the Congress of Russian Communists, which on Wednesday night proclaimed the creation of a Communist Party of the Russian Federation, today approved a declaration saying that it will function within the framework of the CPSU on the basis of a "single set of policy documents and rules." It proclaimed respect for the Constitution and laws of the Russian Federation and the USSR.

The congress endorsed an address to the communist parties of constituent republics, saying that it regards the Communist Party of Russia "as equal among equals."

The delegates decided to elect at the founding congress the first secretary of the party Central Committee, the Central Committee, the Control Commission and chairman of the Control Commission. In addition, the congress is to form a Russian Communist Party Politburo.

Candidates for the post of leader of the Russian Communist Party were nominated at the evening meeting, which was chaired by Mikhail Gorbachev. The candidates include Valentin Kuptsov, head of a CPSU Central Committee department; heads of major regional party organisations Aleksandr Melnikov (Kemerovo region); Oleg Shenin (Krasnoyarsk territory); Ivan Polozkov (Krasnodar territory); second secretary of the Armenian Communist Party Central Committee Oleg Lobov; Leningrad fitter Nikolay Polovodov; and one of the leaders of the radical Democratic Platform group Vladimir Lysenko.

The first three candidates were proposed at a meeting of representatives of delegations. Reporting on the discussion at that meeting, Gorbachev said other candidates were also proposed, including Soviet Prime Minister Nikolay Ryzhkov, Interior Minister Vadim Bakatin, and Leningrad Party Chief Boris Gidaspov. But they withdrew their candidacies.

A number of candidates who were nominated this evening, also withdrew their candidacies. These include Yuriy Manayenkov, a party Central Committee secretary, Vladimir Shcherbakov, chairman of the USSR State Committee for Labour and Social Issues, and Vasily Trushin, Russian Federation Interior Minister.

Several candidates set out their views on the tasks of the new party today, the rest will talk Friday morning.

More on Candidates

LD2106141190

[Editorial Report] Moscow Domestic Service in Russian at 1300 GMT on 21 June broadcasts a four-minute report by Andrey Nikiforov from the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic [RSFSR] Communist Party Constituent Congress. He says:

"Over an hour was spent at the evening session of the congress tackling the question of which matters should be included in its agenda. Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev, who is now in the chair, reported on the opinion that had developed on this point at the conference of representatives of delegations. It is proposed to discuss and adopt resolutions on the current moment, on the party's draft platform and rules, and the matter of the press organs of the republic's Communist Party. The hardest part was reaching a position on the issue of when to elect the party's leading bodies—at the present stage of work or the next, after the 28th party congress has been held. There were several proposals here: to elect just the first secretary now, and having set up an organizing committee, to prepare proposals on the future composition of the Central Committee; another proposal was to elect some of the Central Committee at this stage and to elect the rest later. The conference of representatives of delegations decided to elect without delay both the first secretary, the Central Committee, and the chairman of the Control Commission. The congress approved that decision."

Nikiforov goes on: "A few minutes ago the congress moved on to the submission of candidacy for the post of first secretary of the RSFSR Communist Party central committee." He says that the conference of representatives considered the names of Bakatin, Gidaspov, Dyakov, Kuptsov, Malkov, Manayenkov, Melnikov, Polozkov, Prokofyev, Ryzhkov, Stroyev, and Shenin, but most had since withdrawn their names, leaving just Kuptsov, Melnikov, and Shenin. Delegates have now been coming to the rostrum to submit more names, bringing the total back to 12. "Then, after a list of 12 candidates for the post of first secretary of the republic's Communist Party Central Committee had been defined, candidates withdrew their names again. Now, at this moment, the list of candidates for this post numbers eight, and I shall

enumerate once more the names involved: Comrades Kuptsov, Melnikov, Shenin, Polozkov, Lobov, Lysenko, and Polovodov," Nikiforov says. Despite giving only seven names, Nikiforov continues: "There are the eight people. Now, apparently, the congress will define how the voting will take place. Perhaps one of the candidates will say something about how he envisions his activity in the future."

Gorbachev Discusses Party Decisionmaking

LD2106125890 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1100 GMT 21 Jun 90

[Report from Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic, RSFSR, Communist Party Constituent Congress by station correspondent Andrey Nikiforov, held on 21 June in the Kremlin, including recorded remarks by Mikhail Gorbachev, president of the USSR and general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee at the congress]

[Text] The Constituent Congress of the Russian Federation's Communists continues its work. Our correspondent Andrey Nikiforov reports.

[Nikiforov] Good morning, esteemed comrades. Today the congress delegates, during the course of the morning and day sitting, succeeded in passing two important documents: a decision to set up the Russian Soviet Federation Socialist Republic Communist Party [RSFSR CP] and a declaration of the Constituent Congress of Communists of the Russian Federation. As far as its content is concerned, the declaration could be divided into two parts: first, why a party of Russian communists is being set up, and second, on what principles it will act. In the section about what lies behind the decision to set up the party there is a provision stating that this step is in connection with the necessity to overcome the crisis situation in the economy and to work out the best way toward a regulated market economy. A rather fundamental discussion arose at the congress around this question. I hope you will find it interesting to listen to it in a recorded form.

[Begin recording] [Sergeyev] Sergeyev, secretary of the organizing bureau in charge of the economy of the founding congress of Russian communists. I suggest that the mention about the necessity of going over to a market economy should be excluded from the first page. The matter consists in this: that even though the USSR Supreme Soviet approved the government's concept of going over to a market economy, even without the word regulated being there, the party took no part in this decision in any form provided for by the party's rules.

The country's president is able to put his personal, individual view on this or that matter of principle in the form of a presidential decree, especially if his closest retinue shares his view.

However, the general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee is unable to put his personal view in such a form without the appropriate participation of the party as provided for by the rules! Attempts are being made to foist upon us, from the side, a decision in which the party took no part!

[Lukyanov] Over to Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev please.

[Gorbachev] Well, as for the party standing on the sidelines and taking no part in the elaboration of this problem, or failing to let its position be known, attempts are being made here to foist upon us something that runs counter to the truth.

Moreover, this is being done persistently to compromise us. It is one of those seemingly convincing arguments to show that, as it were, not everything is in order in the Central Committee and the party.

In connection with this, I must reply briefly, for there is now no opportunity, but the matter is one of such principle that it must not be postponed further, since I see, as it were, that this old record has become firmly stuck in its groove.

In the first place, if you turn to the very first document—I do not wish to list them all again—if you turn to the party's 27th congress, already there it states that in the struggle for the effectiveness of the economy, it is necessary to impart special significance to questions of scientific and technological progress, to financial autonomy and other new forms of running the economy, and to making broad use of the commodity-money relations.

This was the first rehabilitation, in connection with the fact that scientists such as Comrade Sergeyev and others did not even tolerate, for 10 years, the use of this phrase commodity-money relations.

Further: a radical economic reform, its necessity, and its concept were examined during the party Central Committee's June plenum. This was the most—one of the most—important, fundamental plenary sessions which effected a sharp turnabout in the entire economic strategy. All the directions have been set out there. The necessity of going over to a planned market—not regulated, but a planned market economy—is also enlarged upon and shown and argued for there. However, this is a different question, as it were.

That is why to regard this idea, this program, as having fallen from somewhere, from the sky, to think that someone thought it up and submitted it by way of an overnight coup to deflect the country from its course, is slander.

All that is known. Here in Moscow, you may put in your requests, and the materials of this plenum will be given to you; you take it, read it, everything is there. The fact that comrades fail to read about this plenum or the fact that they deliberately wish to insinuate that the question is not what it is, is a question for them to get to the

bottom of. Is it the fact that they are not conversant with things or is it something completely different, a desire to confuse the congress?

Further, these questions continued to be present to a varying extent. Namely, when the question of agrarian policy was being dealt with, all these questions surfaced there again.

Finally—I will not list them one by one—all the questions—the law on ownership, on leasing, and so forth—all that took place. Conferences preceded this in the Supreme Soviet and conferences in the government. Our chairman, Comrade Nikolay Ivanovich Ryzhkov held hundreds of consultations on these questions involving rank-and-file workers, engineers, economists, scientists, and so on. The Supreme Soviet debated it, as did all society. The entire Politburo also participated in this. This means we are talking of all of society and the entire party.

Finally, the laws on enterprise, the law on the basis of which we began the transition to the new forms of running the economy, all that was discussed nationwide and was subsequently adopted. It was on that basis that we took the first steps, to begin with at the VAZ works, and it seems, the Bryansk works [shouting from the hall], the Sumy works. Subsequently there were three ministries, then five, than half of the economy, then the entire economy was based on the principle of self-financing and financial autonomy.

All of that went in the direction of implementing these program aims on economic strategy from the 27th congress and the June Central Committee plenum. Therefore, to make out that here they wanted to do something that bypassed the party—on the contrary, that is the idea of the party, indeed, one of the most important ideas of perestroyka.

Therefore, I think that to pose the question thus, well, of accusing the party of remaining on the sidelines and that it has been bypassed—that is not true, not true.

What happened? That must be acknowledged. I have already spoken with comrades and with delegates of many groups, and spoken here, too. After all, the Presidential Council, and what was in the Supreme Soviet, all of that was consultations on how, what path, what time limits, what methods, what rates, what priorities, orders of priority.

But we did not take one thing into account: When the documents were handed out, newspapermen siezed on the question of prices and immediately let the people know. This is the first point.

Second, we simply have to think through the following thing: that in discussing it consultations should have been held behind closed doors, like at the Presidential Council. While here, everything happened before the public, already at the consultation and weighing up stage. And it turned out that we produced a fruit that had not been discussed, was not ripe, and got the whole country worked up. Well, that is a mistake by the Central Committee, the Presidential Council, the government, and the Supreme Soviet.

Now there will be work, moreover, very serious criticism, very serious remarks, working through and along such constructive lines. All that needs to be worked through. When we are ready it must be presented to society. We have to go back to the plenum, to the party, to society, too, in all sectors.

Therefore, comrades, there is no need to suspect. There is no need to suspect that something is being done here to secretly drag the country in a different direction, to lead the country in a capitalist direction. You know, all this amounts to attempts by people with unworthy resources to pursue completely different aims, not those we care about, to find new ways of life, to ennoble our society, and to improve people's lives; moreover, not putting that off, because, as they say, the people's patience is running out. That is what it's about. [end recording]

Gidaspov Holds Press Conference 21 June

LD2106212890 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1525 GMT 21 Jun 90

[Press conference given by Boris Veniaminovich Gidaspov, first secretary of the Leningrad Oblast Party Committee and delegate to the RSFSR Communist Party Constituent Congress, in Moscow on 21 June—recorded]

[Text] [Gidaspov] The composition of the delegations is very varied. The delegates actually attending the Russian Communist Party Congress profess different points of view, from radical left to conservative right. All are represented: the whole spectrum is there. It comes as no surprise therefore that the debates and the adoption of documents are accompanied by very sharp argument, but somehow or other one can detech an overall direction.

[Correspondent] AL-MUSAWWAR magazine, Egypt. What is your attitude to the criticism leveled at the congress against Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev, and will a split be inevitable at the 28th congress or not? Will Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev be able to combine both posts, or will he leave the post of general secretary?

[Gidaspov] As far as criticism of Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev is concerned, I'll tell you my personal impression. I don't like excessive stridency. I don't like excessive emotion. I don't like impropriety. But it seems to me that a very large number of the speakers and of the people putting questions are simply behaving improperly toward the country's president. That is not the way to behave.

If you have serious complaints of some sort, such complaints need to be voiced. You have to analyze whether

you are dealing with a chance concatenation of circumstances and reflect why someone is behaving in a particular way. When I'm asked...well, you also have to take a look at the situation. You can't look at someone in isolation from the situation. At a rally you behave in one way, at the press center you behave in another way, and at a restaurant table you behave differently again.

So, I believe that there should be less criticism. Mikhail Sergeyevich is pulling a very large and heavy waggon. I believe he has done a very great deal for the country, and if you weigh it up—if it can be weighed up—a colossal number of positive things have of course been done by Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev. So I am in favor of constructive criticism. I wouldn't want our leader to be immune from criticism, but all the same it ought to be civilized, in the political and everyday sense of the word.

As for combining posts, I realize that it is extraordinarily difficult to be general secretary of the CPSU and the president of the country. It is extraordinarily difficult. However, if Mikhail Sergeyevich took the decision to leave the party, it would be a very great loss to the party; it would even be a drama for the party. I don't believe he will do it.

As far as a split is concerned, I'm not one of those people predicting that a split is on the verge of taking place. In order for a split to take place, there have to be very considerable objective circumstances. There have to be some sort of district political forces that are capable of constituting a party of some kind. What we are coming up against in Leningrad at least—I can't speak for the country as a whole—is still what I would call embryonic forms of political parties. We can see that they are developing. I fully understand that they will develop further. I am convinced that one day we will see the emergence of a multiparty system. However, I don't think it will happen quickly.

[Correspondent] The Hungarian newspaper MAGYAR HIRLAP. I read in MOSCOW NEWS that you have threatened the Leningrad Soviet that there will be a new force and this will somehow oppose your so-called democratic aspirations. Is this the case, or what do you think about this matter?

[Gidaspov] Well, of course, the interrelations between the party and soviets have radically changed, and I do not believe that these changes have finished yet. They are an on-going process. The point is that traditionally—at least in Leningrad, and, indeed, I think also in Moscow—the party oblast committee has expended 90 percent of its energy on resolving organizational and economic issues. We have an enormous flow of information. We possess all the necessary connections to govern the whole of Leningrad's extremely complex economic operation. It must be said that in Leningrad only 2.9 percent of industry is subordinate to the local Leningrad Soviet. All the rest is under central subordination. That is industry subordinate to the ministries, departments, some to the Council of Ministers (?whereas that consortium which I headed) is not subordinate to anyone. So for this period the party oblast committee has to fulfill double functions. On the one hand, we are implementing contacts with the Leningrad Soviet and helping it to resolve economic issues. On these grounds I think that we will need some time during this interim period, and I think this interim period will have to be quite long. Our interrelations will be constructed in this manner.

Well, and then we will work through the Communists who we have working, elected to both the Leningrad City Soviet and Leningrad Oblast Soviet. I quite clearly envisage the mechanism of this same interaction. A great deal will depend on the interrelations between people. However, I think that we have good contacts with Sobchak, chairman of the city soviet, and Yarov, chairman of the oblast soviet. I think that here we will be able to find the correct method of working.

[Correspondent] Portuguese newspaper. We have just been told that within the party, the new party there are different trends, but so far we seem to have seen very aggressive speeches by the conservatives. I would even say a general antiperestroyka mood. How can this be explained? Is it connected with what certain sections of the Soviet media are writing, that this congress mainly represents the apparat and does not even reflect the situation in the very ranks of the party?

[Gidaspov] Well, what can I say? Naturally there is a certain part of society that is conservatively inclined. I do not want to divide people up on the basis of geography but I should say that the further one goes from the center the more these moods are markedly intensified. The fact that there were very few members of the creative intelligentsia, very few workers, I would say, in the composition of the delegates at the congress, troubles me greatly. This is evidence first and foremost of the fact that the mechanism of the elections and the mechanism of party influence on the support of the delegates has been poorly worked out in our country. A situation like this that has taken shape completely spontaneously, semi-spontaneously, naturally not completely simultaneously, is reflected at the present time at the congress, too.

Moreover, I would like to tell you that one should not regard this congress as an offensive by the conservatives let alone one by reactionary forces. I think that in the final analysis those documents that we are adopting now are documents that are already better conceived and more balanced, taking everything into account, including both the program of the democratic platform and the program of the Marxist platform and many other left-wing movements. Thus, judging from the congress documents and the moods that are gradually starting to make themselves felt at the congress, I do not think it is acting the part of an extremely aggressive, reactionary type of organization. No.

[Correspondent] Polish newspaper EXPRESS WIECZORNY. Can Nina Andreyeva and, for example, Aleksandr Yakovlev who consider the Leningrad lady to be an enemy of socialism and the like exist in a single party?

[Gidaspov] First, I should say that the Leningrad party organization expressed its attitude to the well-known letter from Nina Andreyeva quite definitely. Our attitude to this letter is a negative one. Nina Andreyeva does not enjoy any serious influence and no serious support in Leningrad. However, on the whole throughout the country naturally a group of people exists who have the same point of view as she does. The fact that in the party—well I don't know about Aleksandr Nikolayevich and Andreyeva, one cannot put them on the same plane, that would not be proper—but the fact that in our party there are people with a left-wing radical and right-wing, let's say, radical views, is quite definite. That is precisely what indicates that we are coming round to a multiparty system. There is no doubt about that, but it simply has not taken shape yet. One cannot combine coexistence with incompatability.

[Correspondent] AL-WATAN, Kuwait. Mr. Boris Gidaspov, I've got two questions for you. First, what do you think: Can the Russian Communist Party be regenerated into a new type of party which will meet the demands of the times and the spirit of restructuring if 11 million Russian communists are automatically going to be transferred to the party? Second, one of my colleagues here mentioned the word imperialism, which I haven't heard or read for a long time here in the USSR. Do you think that imperialism as a system has disappeared altogether, or does your press, particularly the party press, have a new outlook on it? What is your explanation?

[Gidaspov] In my speech to the conference—I addressed the conference before it became the congress—I said that if the Russian Communist Party isn't democratic, progressive and radical, it is not worth setting up. Many of my Leningrader and Muscovite colleagues adhere to this view, exactly this view. Naturally, we will campaign to ensure that it is a progressive party. As for automatic transfer, no transfer needs to be effected, in my view. The whole point is that we have already declared that the Russian Communist Party will hold the same standpoint as the CPSU—that is, its rules and action program will be identical to the CPSU's. Thus, the party card of a Russian is also the party card of a CPSU member. So there is no automatic transfer here.

As far as imperialism is concerned, I think that one needs to seek some kind of philological nuance here. The whole point is that in recent years we have steadily been progressing toward a diminution of the confrontation which existed in the past above all with the United States and the NATO bloc in general, and maybe from these political considerations we are not now highlighting our differences particularly. On the contrary, we are seeking cooperation in all spheres and looking for positions which bring us closer together. I was in Helsinki with Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorabchev when he declared for the first time that we were striving for the construction of an all-European home. In these circumstances, one should not, in my view, seek pretexts for confrontation, including turns of phrase appropriate to confrontation.

Gidaspov Expects Politburo Changes at Congress

LD2106205390 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1700 GMT 21 Jun 90

[Video report by correspondent V. Stefanov; from the "Vremya" newscast]

[Excerpts] [Stefanov] Representatives of the Leningrad delegation were guests of the Press Center today. Here is the opinion of the first secretary of the Leningrad Oblast Committee [B.V. Gidaspov] on the creation of the Russian Communist Party:

[Begin Gidaspov, identified by screen caption, recording] What we are seeing here is the product of what we call glasnost and perestroyka. This is the result of an initiative by a number of party committees and major production collectives located across the whole territory of Russia. This is the initiative of rank-and-file Communists. This is the most important aspect which I would like to emphasize. [end recording]

[Stefanov] At the same time, Comrade Gidaspov noted that at one time he was against the creation of a Russian Communist Party, for orignally, in his opinion, a noticeable wedge to the right was evident in the movement of its supporters. [passage omitted]

[Begin recording] [Stefanov] How do you evaluate the work of members of the Politburo? Answer, before giving an assessment, whether the comrades' reports will be worth listening to?

[Gidaspov] I will be very interested in Comrade Medvedev's report on issues of ideology and perstroyka. I do not see conviction and a firm ideological line in perestroyka. It would not be a bad thing to listen to Yegor Kuzmich Ligachev as to why the state of affairs regarding agriculture in our country is progressing with such difficulty; this is the industry which he has been managing. But comrades, or gentlemen, you see, you and I are standing on the eve of a great event, the 28th party congress. There will undoubtedly be very serious changes in the next few months, both in the composition of the Central Committee and in the Politburo. [end recording]

Ryzhkov Interviewed on Russian Party Congress

PM2106163190 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 22 Jun 90 Morning Edition p 2

[Interview with N.I. Ryzhkov, chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, by INTERFAX News Agency Correspondent V. Terekhov; place, date not specified: "N. Ryzhkov: 'People Must Know the Facts'"]

[Text] [Terekhov] A desire for confrontation with the Congress of RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic] People's Deputies and even with lower-level soviets was shown openly at the conference and then at the Congress of Russian Communists. How do you regard that fact?

[Ryzhkov] Yes, there were definite signs of confrontation and of toughness toward other state organs, including the Congress of RSFSR People's Deputies. For example, I thought that one shouldn't send a deputation or a message to the Congress of People's Deputies on the conference's behalf in the form that was proposed. Even less to send a delegation headed by Mikhail Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee. You have to find other forms of interaction. Even so, the party will have to work with the soviets. That has to be learned. I think that we still do not know how to do that properly. That is because the party used to have a monopoly on the running of social life but will now have to work with the soviets. This also explains the desire for tough decisions by means of "pressure." I do not think that this is the right method. If we take that path there will be confrontation. As for the speeches, they varied. I think that there must be a very flexible approach to the different proposals, particularly to the positions of the "Marxist platform" and the "Democratic platform." Consolidating factors must be adopted but extreme stances will either disappear or remain as a factor of discord.

[Terekhov] Do you have no fears regarding the fate of the 28th CPSU Congress? After all, many of the people who sharply criticized the Central Committee from right-wing positions are also delegates to the CPSU congress. They will show their feelings at the congress, too. They will be joined at the congress by those significant groups of communists from the Union republics who, to be frank, have no love for perestroyka.

[Ryzhkov] I am troubled by one fact which was expressed powerfully not so much here, at the Russian congress, as at the Moscow party conference. Persistent calls were voiced there to put perestroyka on trial. I think that this is dangerous, which I also said at the Moscow city party conference. We have begun perestroyka, its progress is difficult. This process affects all our social life. Calling for it to be tried is wrong. There must be evaluations of each politburo member, undoubtedly, and there will be. That is why congresses are held, but there must not be extremes. But rejecting perestroyka and even putting it on trial means that the next generation will not tackle the further restructuring of society. It will be afraid. Indeed, one cannot go forward without making some mistakes. That is unrealistic.

[Terekhov] I think that matters will not go as far as the next generation. Society itself will not accept unconstructive criticism or criticism from the right.

[Ryzhkov] I believe that society will nevertheless get to the bottom of the question. Furthermore, some speeches do not reflect the people's stance. That idea is alien to me. But unfortunately, these are such symptoms.

[Terekhov] I personally am very worried by that moment at the conference when a representative of the so-called "Leningrad initiative congress" indulged in blatant chauvinism in his speech: He named as one of the two main opponents of the creation of a Russian Communist Party those people who "articulate the word 'rossiyskiy' [meaning "Russian" in the geographical sense] poorly"... After all, everyone understands clearly what that meant... But the main thing is that the conference applauded these words. Didn't you feel terrible at that moment?

[Ryzhkov] Yes.

[Terekhov] So why did the presidium keep a stony silence then?

[Ryzhkov] Do you think, then, that we should have dragged [the speaker] from the rostrum on that occasion?

[Terekhov] No, not dragged. It is just that chauvinism must be called by its proper name.

[Ryzhkov] In that case the presidium would have needed to express its view on many of the speakers and state its attitude toward the speeches. I think that people themselves must find out what is going on.

Polozkov 20 June Speech to Russian Party Congress

LD2106210190 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1837 GMT 20 Jun 90

[Speech by Ivan Kuzmich Polozkov, first secretary of Krasnoday Kray CPSU Committee, chairman of the Krav Soviet of People's Deputies, at the Constituent Congress of Russian Communists in Moscow on 20 June—recorded]

[Excerpt] Esteemed comrades, we are dealing with the issue of founding the Communist Party of Russia at a very difficult time for the CPSU, so it is all the more gratifying to know that it is being founded on the initiative and through the will of a majority of the mass of party members of Russia. This means that the communist ideal is strong in people's minds; this means that the people have great faith in the capacities of communism and in party ideals; this means that the working people have great hopes for its creative potential.

An absolute majority of the communists in Krasnodar Kray party organization have expressed the idea that the Russian Communist Party should be seen first and foremost as the rebirth of the CPSU on a new basis. Yesterday it was asked more than once: what should the Russian Communist Party be like? In my opinion, neither yesterday nor today was there any great disagreement that it should be a party opting for socialism and looking to communism. On behalf of the 333,000 communists of the Kuban, our delegation shares that opinion. In defining the option of socialism and the policy of renewal of socialism itself and protecting the

vital interests of the working people as its prime aim, the party can count upon the firm support of the working people.

Many of our difficulties today result not only from the deformation of socialism during the cult of personality, from arbitrariness, or from stagnation, but also from errors in the course of perestroyka, particularly ideological disorder in the party, which Aleksandr Nikolayevich Yakovlev, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo, innocuously called certain uncertainties. We can all now see how dearly the CPSU has to pay for being in that condition. Nor can communists and nonparty members fail to be seriously concerned at the position of the present CPSU leadership who are not giving the appropriate rebuff to the detractors of the theory of Marxism-Leninism and the practice of building socialism.

We are not talking about defending political dogmas, but about formulating and making people aware of the humanitarian essence of developing Marxism-Leninism and aware of the truth about party policy, and to give their due to the previous generations of Soviet people who created for us all that was in their power. We are talking about defending the good things in the history of our party and people, since by groundlessly striking out our past and by presenting it as an unbroken chain of errors and tragedy we are depriving not only the present generation of their future. Inconsistency, making concessions on matters of principle, and more and more fresh promises, delaying in making serious decisions and being unable to eliminate errors in time are evidence of the absence of a clear program of action to renew socialism by our party's leadership.

As a member of the CPSU Central Committee, I bear a certain amount of blame for this, although I have to state bluntly that I, like other members of the Central Committee, have repeatedly submitted proposals and expressed criticism of the Politburo and individual members of it. However, often there was no appropriate reaction. Moreover, various labels were firmly attached to us, and those who spoke out and criticised most often were labeled enemy of perestroyka, ultraright-wingers, and so forth.

Mikhail Sergeyevich, at one of the meetings of first secretaries of Central Committees of kray and oblast committees, I asked you if there were enemies of perestroyka among us. At that time we came to the conclusion that there would appear not. At that time we asked who would feel the need to divide the Central Committee members into radicals and conservatives. You, at that time, replied: Whoever stands to gain from that. The barrage of blows against the party is being delivered according to a plan and is on the increase. Initially it was directed against the cadres, and now the idea is being put forward of taking away from the party its property and dividing it up, of splitting off the newspapers, and of not transferring contributions to party bodies. I, too, am for opening up the party budget to all communists, for making it public. But, dear comrades, can't you understnd that all this taken together means nothing other than organized action to disintegrate the CPSU from within? [applause] While we here should not lose our sense of proportion, we are talking about serious matters. As yet this kind of scattering of comrades has not happened in Belorussia and in certain other republics. So let us look finally into just who stands to gain. This question has, incidentally, been asked at many kray and oblast party conferences.

It should also be recognized that the CPSU Central Committee has on the whole entrusted too much to the Politburo. The bureau of the CPSU Central Committee dealing with the RSFSR effectively did not function. Local party committees note a relaxation of collective methods of working by the top political leadership. Recently their work has in fact not been guided by the Politburo and the Secretariat of the Central Committee, as has already been said. Moreover, persistent signs from above of not getting involved in dealing with economic issues, at the very time when new machinery for managing the economy has not been worked out, when the soviets are still not formed as full-blown organs of power, have led to the party becoming remote from economic life, and that is one of the main reasons for the country's economy sliding backwards and for many of our failures in restructuring. Communists are definitely in favor of restructuring, [applause] but not at the expense of a fall in the living standard of the working people, not by getting rid of their social gains and guarantees which socialism ensures.

And if today many of our economists and politicians have not found, or have not wished to find, ways for renewing socialism, this does not at all mean that there is only one way out: to turn back and to begin everything from the beginning, according to the Swedish, Danish, or some other model. To copy any of them blindly, no matter how attractive it may be, and, moreover, to do it hastily is, to say the least, not serious.

As has been correctly noted here, no one consulted the Central Committee and the communists, but all the same the whole party has to bear responsibility for the negative consequences, and these are not ruled out.

The question of the transition to the market economy, to private ownership of land and other means of production, questions which affect the fate of millions should never be decided at all without consulting the people, and all the more so today. [applause]

Recently belief in the ideals of socialism and the correctness of our historic choice has been persistently demolished. Popular wisdom states that if a man has lost a purse he has not lost very much; if he has lost a friend he has lost a great deal; if he has lost his faith he has lost everything. I regard the loss of faith among many Soviet people in the party's capability to get the country out of the difficult situation as a crisis not of the CPSU but primarily of its leading organs. [applause]

To raise the prestige of the party, the Communist Party of Russia should clearly determine how to build its party, what sort of relations there should be in it. It should state what position it will adopt in resolving these very complicated questions. That is the first thing.

The second, and no less important, area of work I see as ridding communists of dismay, of their guilt complex for everything that was done wrongly or was wrong in the party, for the decisions made without their knowledge even though in their name. In this connection it would be inappropriate and, moreover, immoral to transfer the blame of individual past and present leaders of the party for their mistakes, their deviations from the norms of party life, on to all the party as a whole, and moreover to demand taht it repents. It seems that such pressure is also very advantageous to some people today. [applause]

The third direction is th all-round democratization of the party. It should construct its activity on the principles of democratic centralism and not just in declarations—such as we had in the past and which will not be accepted by the party masses today—but real democratic centralism as Lenin saw it, such as would in reality ensure the spirit of democracy and the supremacy of the party masses, their active participation in working out and implementing the policy of the party. What is needed is the sort of democratic centralism which would exclude the creation in the party of supreme leaders, cults, officials elected without alternative candidates.

The fourth direction is the party's struggle for the true democratization of society. Not the sort in which on the wave of rallies, denunciations, and political ambitions the main creative force of the working people—the workers, peasants, and other strata of the working people—are cast aside on to the sidelines of political life. But the sort in which it is precisely they who really are in power. If we do not lose this important benchmark and do not lose contact from our main social base our party will grow stronger and develop. [passage omitted]

Kobyzev 20 June Speech to Russian Party Congress

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[Speech by Mikhail Semenovich Kobyzev, first secretary of the Dzerzhinskiy Rayon Party Committee, at the session of the RSFSR Communist Party Constituent Congress in Moscow on 20 June—recorded]

[Text] Mikhail Semenovich Kobyzev, delegate from the Sverdlovsk party organization and first secretary of the Dzerzhinskiy Rayon Committee of the party in the city of Nizhniy Tagil.

Esteemed comrade delegates: We communists of the Sverdlovsk Oblast state the following. Serious damage has been done to the authority of the party and society by the mistakes and errors that have been made in implementing the political and economic reforms of the last few years of perestroyka. But the shares of the blame and responsibility for the situation that has arisen which fall to the rank-and-file communists and the CPSU leaders are not commensurable. We therefore propose that delegates implement the idea of a party crisis at the 28th congress; that they declare the congress to be extraordinary rather than regular, with a report by the secretaries and with specific personal assessments of leading party cadres who, instead of admitting their own bad work, are already now putting the blame on a clearly overburdened general secretary; and that the question of combining the posts of general secretary and president be examined. [applause] In the party it is essential to work, not by holding more than one job, but by doing things seriously and professionally, especially under the conditions of a multiparty system which is coming into being.

It so happens that we were unable to detect any assessment of the inactivity of the Russian Bureau.

My next point: Much is being said today about the party having to give up economic activity. Frequently, however, people have an oversimplified understanding of this as a refusal in any way to resolve economic problems. This kind of position is very dangerous and can lead to a complete loss of influence by the party upon the processes which are taking place in society. Unfortunately recent events virtually indicate that the present Central Committee has embarked upon that path. I am talking about the speech by Comrade Nikolay Ivanovich Ryzhkov, a member of the Politburo, on the concept of the transition to a market economy which has been actively propagandized and explained by our general secretary. And it's not that the report was put before the Supreme Soviet session without confirmation at a Central Committee plenum. Confirmations of that kind, which used to be the practice in the past, were formal acts.

The question is a much more serious one. Essentially this report declares a new economic policy of the CPSU, but for the party itself, for its millions of members, this report came as a bolt out of the blue. Read it carefully, and in it you won't find either Marxism or Leninism in our traditional understanding. And a turnabout of that kind was carried out without any wide theoretical discussion in the party and without the adoption of program decisions. Once again the party has found itself in the firing line of criticism and has suffered political loss.

Instead of having a powerful detachment of propagandists, agitators, party leaders at all levels, and academics carrying out explanatory work in the labor collectives and explaining the need for the transition to the market and the inevitable losses, the party leadership has branded with shame market economists proposing their own versions and assured everyone that even if we do go in for the market, then there will be no lowering of living standards. This was said in particular by Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev during his stay in Sverdlovsk. Incidentally, Mikhail Sergeyevich, we still cannot understand why you did not find the time to meet the secretaries of the oblast's party committees, if only on

these issues, not to mention the need to talk about internal party problems. As a result the people received the report as shock without any therapy. The consequences are well known. And that, moreover, is an indicator of the level of trust that there is in the party—and as a result, once again, the whole party foots the bill.

What are we proposing? That a working commission be formed from those congress delegates who are economists; that other academics be included in it; and that before final decisions are made that a position that is indeed the position of the whole party be drawn up on the transition to a market economy. [applause]

In so doing, all the alternative options should be taken into consideration. It is not a question of doing work on behalf of the government. It is a question of discussing throughout the party a mechanism for ensuring a transition to the market of the kind where the working man will suffer least of all. It is only when the whole party adopts the concept of a present-day new economic policy that it will be able to fulfill its role as a political force.

We consider that the party must be the initiator of a referendum on the issues of principle in the transition to the market. Only then will the economic reform rest upon the support of the people.

I would now like to express our understanding of some points of principle set out in the draft platform of the CPSU Central Committee which have given rise to sharp criticism.

First, one of the issues of principle in the pre-congress discussion was the question of the type of party. What kind of party should it be: a vanguard party or a parliamentary party? In our view the argument about this, which has led to a polarization of views in the CPSU, is pointless at its very foundation. The CPSU must certainly become a party of a parliamentary type if in the future it wants to work through the mechanisms of the soviets. The elements of confrontation that exist in certain towns between the city committees and the soviets are precisely manifestations of the fact that the elements of a parliamentary party are lacking. If work is not done in this direction, then in the very near future other political forces will by democratic means sweep us not only from the soviets but from the labor collectives, too. [applause]

The first attempts at the Congress of People's Deputies of Russia are an example of this. A lack of the skills of parliamentarianism is leading to a situation in which a large number of communist deputies are not concerned about their responsibility for carrying out program decisions. They have lost their sense of party spirit. This is shown by their refusal to form party groups and organizations. But there is no other way of implementing party decisions. In the new rules we consider it essential to earmark a section on the activity of the party in the soviets.

On the other hand any political party must strive to occupy the vanguard positions in society. This should be sought through the decisions it makes, through its everyday activity, and the results of this. That is the foundation of principle upon which the Sverdlovsk delegation proposes that all communists should consolidate.

Second, contradiction is to be found in the first sentence of the first section. I quote literally: We first and foremost break with the authoritarian-bureaucratic system, which is incompatible with socialist principles; our ideal is humane, democratic socialism. One cannot help asking: If we are breaking with the authoritarian and bureaucratic system, does that mean that we recognize that it exists? And if it is incompatible with socialist principles—which is undoubtedly true—does it mean that we do not yet have socialism as a real system? It is therefore necessary both in the name and in the content of the draft to set down the essence of the period being lived through as being that of the transition from the authoritarian and bureaucratic system to socialism.

Third, in the draft platform we cannot pass over the question of communism, which as a term is present, modestly, only in the name of the party. Does this mean that we are giving up the construction of communism? We are convinced that an explanation has to be given. Did the theory of communism turn out to be utopia or not? In what respects is it erroneous if we are giving it up? We must tell ourselves honestly that communist ideals and values common to all mankind are one and the same. But in so doing we are in favor of the name of the party remaining communist.

Certainly I am not going to be able to express in the minutes I have been given everything that has accumulated as a result of the discussions that have taken place in the oblast. The discussions were comprehensive, constructive and businesslike. They were discussions in which the opinions of all public and political currents were taken into consideration and where alternative versions of all draft platforms and rules were put together. As a result of this the political positions of our communists were worked out and adopted at the oblast conference. In handing them over to the Secretariat we state that all of this is the party's property, and we insist that they are analyzed and taken into consideration in the program and regulatory documents of the 28th congress.

In conclusion I would like to quote one thing that was said by Aleksandr Gelman, USSR people's deputy. What I am interested in is not the pace but the qualitative indicators when the masses are introduced into politics. I fear that politicization might turn into the herding of people. In that case our long-awaited multiparty system which is now coming into being, instead of bringing genuine standards into politics and civilized competitivity into the struggle for power, will merely bring new, bitter clashes between hastily politicized ignoramuses. Think about it: Has it been to anyone's advantage today

to bring into collision the workers and the party, the people's deputies of Russia and the delegates of the Russian congress, Yeltsin and Gorbachev? This gets going on the passions, but it does not work toward increasing the authority of our supreme party forum.

As regards the name of the party, we consider that the name of the party must correspond to the essence of our federation; it must be called the Communist Party of the RSFSR. Thank you for your attention. [applause]

Boyko Delivers Speech at 20 June Russian Congress

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[Speech by Nikolay Makarovich Boyko, member of the Military Council of the Air Defense Forces, at the Constituent Congress of the RSFSR Communist Party in Moscow on 20 June—recorded]

[Text] Esteemed comrade delegates: Everything that takes place in society, the country, and the party does not bypass the Army. This is understandable. The Army is part of the people; the Army serves it and cannot be separated from the state's political life. We, Army communists, are looking forward to the 28th party congress with undisguised excitement, submitting our views and opinions to the Congress of the RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic] Communist Party and basing on them our own plans for the development of society, the party, and the Armed Forces. Each of us has had an opportunity to read the draft platform and CPSU rules, and other platforms. And although the documents are far from perfect, they play an exclusively positive role. One cannot fail to see that they are aimed, first of all, at profound democratic changes in the CPSU and republican communist parties.

In connection with this I would like to say the following, to support the views of my comrades in the delegation who represent at our congress the Air Defense Forces and to state resolutely that we support the CPSU platform and come out for a vanguard-type party. Instead of adapting oneself to the situation, one should promptly master it: Otherwise certain forces will try to divert us from the socialist choice and will succeed if the CPSU turns out to be the last in the lineup of pluralism.

Second, Army communists are in favor of a Russian Communist Party within the composition of the CPSU. We see that today those who would like to substitute fruitless discussions for constructive work of Russia's party organizations in such a complex situation are interested in dragging out its organizational formation by spreading it over many stages. We have a Supreme Soviet and an RSFSR government; other republican structures are being set up; and the party must enter this process in an integral manner, without delay.

The third point is about power of the party masses. This is, perhaps, the sorest issue in the CPSU's life. Why can voices be heard against democratic centralism? Because for many it is associated with the minority's monopoly of power, hence such a perception. We need a different unity in the party today, not universal approval but the kind of unity when each has the right to put forward and defend his viewpoint. But discipline should not be abolished. In other words, the decisions adopted by the majority must be mandatory. Only given such relations can the party be preseved as a strong organization and fulfill its vanguard role.

Yet another thing should be mentioned: the formation of elected party organs. I believe that membership in them should be determined not by the communists's post but by his professional qualities and support for perestroyka. Why are communists increasingly less inclined to believe that the curent composition of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo will be able to take the party out of the crisis, as was said here today? Because a category of leaders has emerged for whom it is all the same what post they nominate themselves for, be it the Supreme Soviet, the Council of Ministers, or the Central Committee, hence their efficiency. One would not like that the same thing to happen during the elections of the leading organs of the Russian Communist Party.

In this context I would like to single out specifically the problems of the Army. First, the Army and Navy, and the Air Defense Forces are going through a difficult phase today, through military reform which will result in renewed armed forces. This is a very essential issue of defense construction, and its solution must become a concern for the whole nation, bodies of Soviet power, and the government. Unfortunately, this has not yet been felt, especially as regards the poorly balanced decisions on conversion, the formation of military patriotic mood and a respectful attitude toward the defenders of the homeland.

We, Army communists, are also seriously worried about the anti-Army syndrome that is being inculcated in the country. Some media orans are especially zealous in this. A purely time-serving approach can be recognized here. What is this, craving for sensations, opportunism, or a striving to pose as supre-radicals? I belive there is more to it than just that. Casting aspersions on the Army has become for certain forces a form of irresponsible political game. We had a possibility to see this today, too. Judge for yourselves: Now it is already difficult to impress anyone with denunciations of Stalinism; exosing the blank spots of the stagnation period has become a harder task, too. Perhaps the time has come for exposing the blank spots of the last few years of perestroyka and identifying those who are for renewing socialism and those who are for dismantling socialism in accordance with Western prescriptions? [applause]

The subject of the Army is always topical. Army problems are directly linked with nearly every cell of our society and involve the interests of every Soviet person to a greater or lesser degree. We are not against criticism if it is constructive. But we are against biased coverage of

Army problems; we are against anti-army propaganda. This is not done in any civilized country of the world.

We are already experiencing this so-called help: The spring draft is developing with great difficulty now. As a result, we are running the risk of being short of specialists in the Army. Isn't it high time to think: Who benefits from this? What is the purpose of this smear campaign against the Army? Concern over the situation surrounding military formations in a number of Union republics has already been expressed on this rostrum more than once. Installations vitally important for the country's defense in the Baltic, western Ukraine, and the Transcucasus are being picketed and besieged; demands for curtailing combat outposts and vacating territories in some areas in Moldavia are being put forward.

Whichever troops I have visited, everywhere people ask the same question: When will the Soviet laws come into effect, at last, in the Soviet Union? [applause]. The country's leadership must give up its position of an observer and resolutely stand up for defending the Armed Forces and impart a new meaning to the slogan: The people and the Army are indivisible. The adoption of a special resolution on the Army issue at the 28th CPSU Congress could be a point of departure for this.

The Army has fallen on hard times in social issues, too. It needs specific support and care. The small funds allocated for improving the situation of officers do not solve the problem. The stream of officers who wish to leave the Armed Forces continues unabated. Their number can already be counted not in hundreds but in thousands. It is simply impermissible to watch this process with equanimity today.

The situation has been exacerbated even more in connection with the withdrawal of troops from Eastern Europe and Mongolia. This has entailed an increase in the number of homeless and jobless and has overburdened the Army's social and cultural amenities, which are scarce, anyway.

The Ministry of Defense is taking all necessary measures, but we cannot make it without specific help locally from Soviet bodies and various ministrues and departments. If the solution to Army problems is delayed, as early as this year one can expect that the intake of young people will drop. They are the future of our Armed Forces and we should all be concerned about it. We, the military, are reproached for painting too black a picture. Let us look the truth in the eye. The reality of our time is such that one has to draw correct conclusions from the analysis of the processes underway in East Europe and the world now: One should not create dangerous illusions. Political appraisals of the events taking place here are required. After all, the United States and NATO have not given up any of the military programs designed to attain superiority over the USSR. They are doing everything possible to preserve all the components of their military might. Moreover, they are equipping their armies with the latest weapons and combat technology at an accelerated pace.

Let us put it frankly: Over the last few years the United States has strengthened its positions; it brazenly interferes in the interests of other states and into those of our state, too.

Therefore I am in favor of a reasonable and, naturally, mutual reduction, one which ensures our defense sufficiency. I think the time has not yet come for us to run ahead of the train, because it is always more difficult to go back, especially after the train has gained speed.

And the last thing, about political organs. Certain people in the party and the country are quite actively forming public opinion and are calling for eliminating them in the Army. Life itself, the 70 years of the history of our state and the experience of all armies proves that this is untenable. One needs to examine in detail each specific issue, and especially this one, and to establish precisely who stands to gain from this, and for what purpose this has been proposed. I am confident that the political organs have not become obsolete. They are radically changing their style and methods and are mastering political methods of leadership. Moreover, they are needed now more than ever before. The political organs, party organizations strengthen combined command, consolidate army ranks, fight for good organization and discipline, and for responsible execution of military duty. People have been and are addressing the political organs with the hope that they will be heard, understood and that their problems will be solved.

As regards the issue of suspending party membership for Army communists, here again our resolute position is that this is not acceptable. To leave the Army without communists means to open its doors for other forces and to weaken its fighting potential. The creeping counterrevolution is waiting precisely for that! [applause]

In conclusion I would like to say that, as long as the world remains militarized, fraught with dangers,and the military threat has not been eliminated, we need strong and efficient armed forces. As the military, we are trying to work strenuously and responsibly, and as communists we regard ourselves as the fighting detachment of the CPSU. Thank you. [applause]

Melnikov 19 June Speech to Russian Conference

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[Speech by Aleksandr Grigoriyevich Melnikov, first secretary of Kemerovo Oblast party committee, at the Russian party conference in Moscow on 19 June—recorded]

[Excerpts] Esteemed comrade delegates: The stance of the delegation from Kemerovo Oblast which represents 220,000 communists has already been set out. It reflects

the opinions of all primary party organizations and, I think, there is no need to hold another general discussion on the appropriateness of setting up a Russian Communist Party as some people here have proposed.

I think that the main thing in the work of our congress—and this title is undoubted—should be, first of all, a discussion of the situation in the CPSU, the role of the Communist Party in Russia in its renewal and the election of leading organs. Allow me to dwell on this.

We all understand that the CPSU as the party of the working class, the working peasantry and intelligentsia is going through a difficult period. There are many reasons for this. These include mistakes in the tactics and actions which turned the party away from its correct path of constructing a new society, severe crimes against the people which were committed in the years of Stalinism, moral decline, corruption and social injustice and heartlessness which touched many members of the party including those in the leading nucleus in the years of stagnation. They include harsh centralism in taking decisions and unthinking increases in the membership of the party not on the grounds of communist conviction but of percentage composition which created the command and bureaucratic system of leadership in the party just as in society.

These reasons were uncovered and admitted by the party, itself, when it began perestroyka and it does not give up the idea of persisting in completing it despite the wholesale and at times destructive criticism which the CPSU has been subjected to from right to left. Let me say bluntly, the harshness of this is increasing because the party is undergoing difficulties, but it is still moving along the path of renewing itself and does not intend to give up it vanguard position to the new political forces which are being born on the wave of democratization.

The politization of the masses is, in our view, one of the most important achievements of the past five years of perestroyka but it also makes new demands on the party and on each communist. The easy life has disappeared. You will not change people by commands and slogans. You need to convince people, to be convinced, yourself, and to learn to do this as you go along. The period of party conceit, which Vladimir Ilich Lenin warned us against, has ended. What is needed from the CPSU now are examples of specific actions to move ahead. That is the essence of its current period in the life and activity of the party and here, perhaps, is our greatest omission.

Judge for yourself, two weeks remain until the 28th party congress. The party is boiling up. The country is on the verge of a social explosion but the leadership of the Central Committee and the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic [RSFSR] Organizational Bureau, as we have seen, seems to be living in a different dimension. [applause]

The CPSU is reconstructing itself rapidly. It has changed. Today it is not the center which dictates what ought to be done but the communists themselves who dictate to the local party committees, the Central Committee and the politburo. Even in the smallest and weakest primary party organization today there is a respectful attitude to communists. They are given preliminary knowledge of the material which needs to be discussed and on which correct decisions have to be worked out.

Our party congress or conference just as in the worst times is being convened in the hope that the delegates will listen to what is said and will approve it unanimously. That stage is long past.

We have had many discussions about the correct path which we are moving along, but not much effort to move along it more rapidly. Whether you like it or not, by our inconsistent and poorly conceived plans and actions we have already created a situation in which people do not trust communists and, communists do not trust us. The Central Committee and the government take more and more new decisions the essence of which changes rapidly from one pole to the other and is not comprehended.

The party aktiv—people who are devoted to the party cause and run off their feet giving accounts and explanations of contradictory decisions from the center and being stigmatized as apparatchik which is becoming more and more like a label of political unreliability—is beginning to disperse. [applause]

Our tongues are getting tired from our universal chattering. People have got their brains in a twist. The only thing that they can understand is the increasingly empty shelves in the shops and the wild price rises. This is an alarming phenomenon. I have spoken about this with sorrow because, as a member of the Central Committee, I bear responsibility for the whole of the past five years. I do not disparage and I do not renounce the undoubted achievements of perestroyka. I believe in the success of its final aims and I am implementing them, but I have a pain in my heart and I am so distressed that we are paying for this final aim at the cost of the party which began perestroyka and is conducting it, bearing on itself the whole burden of moral responsibility.

I do not understand why the recent statement and address by Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev, president of the country, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, on Central Television, on such a most acute question as the change-over to the regulated market economy did not contain one mention of the words party and communists. [applause]

Does not our party, unlike all the other political forces, remain the only working party, the very flesh of the people and the people itself. It is naive to think that perestroyka is being carried out in the Central Committee building, in the government, within the Sadovoye Koltso [Moscow Ringroad] or at the May Day demonstration on Red Square as many people believe. [applause]

Perestroyka has been accepted and is being conducted throughout the country by the whole party and by the whole people. Among these I would particularly pick out the million Kuzbass workers who include 100,000 communists. Last year's strike in the Kuzbass was an unprecedented event in the years of Soviet power. For the first time hundreds of thousands of workers came out decisively, and in a way which is rare and unusual for us, against the command administrative system. They demonstrated the might of proletarian solidarity in support of perestroyka from below.

However, despite the dialogue with the government and the range of specific measures which were adopted to implement the demands by the miners, the situation in the region continues to be complicated and explosive right up to the present day. Why is this? On the social plane there is the shortage of foodstuffs and industrial goods. Supplies of these are going badly even though the Kuzbass is fulfilling its obligations overall. On the economic plane the causes of the conflict have not been eliminated. Enterprises have not gained genuine autonomy. The management structure has not changed. Only the signboards have been changed. There is a fall in labor discipline. Material and moral incentives have been weakened and the rising pay is not being backed up by goods.

There continues to be an absence of power in the political sphere. The soviets have been reelected but the executive bodies have not been completely staffed. Reelections in the party organizations have been under way for six months. Many current issues concerning the mining labor collectives have started to be resolved by the USSR Council of Ministers at chairman level, bypassing the ministry. This is overloading the government, and unjustifiably so, while the coal ministry is avoiding responsibility for the consequences of the strike. The ministry has, in essence, been removed from resolving the region's social problems. Over the past year its role has declined so much that in its present state it cannot continue to exist. Since this is so, there is increasing dissatisfaction with the government and the Supreme Soviet at the slowness in adopting cardinal decisions.

The Central Committee receives much criticism for ignoring the opinion of the rank and file communists in the draft platform and draft rules of the CPSU. In so far as the whole party continues to be accused of all sins and as all the black and blank spots of history, all the unapprehended and faceless mafia and corruption, and now also all the burdens of the mistakes of perestroyka, all the failed scientific-economic experiments of recent years, are, with our general connivance, being heaped on today's communists, they are justifiably calling us party leaders to account.

The party conference of the Kuzbass on 1 June adopted by an overwhelming majority a resolution of no confidence in the Central Committee and the politburo and demanded the resignation of all its members. [applause]

The difficult and responsible decision was adopted, as they say, in the spirit of rally-type democracy but one cannot regard it simply as that. As a member of the Central Committee of the last, perestroyka, convocation, I hold myself responsible for everything that has been done in perestroyka and I agree with this assessment by communists about myself. First of all because I, like many members of the Central Committee plenum did not, at that time, possess the necessary level of principle and persistence to confirm the role of the party Central Committee as the organ of collective political leadership.

Recently we, the members of the Central Committee and the party, have witnessed how certain political forces in a planned and consistent way have separated the general secretary, the chairman of the Supreme Soviet and now the president of the country, from the Central Committee of the party and the Politburo; split the Politburo itself, defaming its most capable members. At two Central Committee plenums I drew attention to this negative phenomenon. I asked myself and the other members of the Central Committee and the Politburo the question: Who benefits from this. But I did not receive a reply and I admit in a self-critical manner that I did not demand a reply, I did not keep on insisting.

Today I have the moral right to note that the politburo did not ensure the necessary self-criticism in this respect either. Moreover, I get the impression that with the purposeful cooperation of the general secretary's closest entourage we are gradually slipping into a new—maybe an unusual and democratic form of it—but still the cult of an individual. [applause]

Without belittling in any way the universal and worldwide recognition of Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev as the leader of the CPSU and the country, with all due respect to his personal qualities, I am obliged, in the spirit of party comradeship, to warn him and protect him, for the sake of our general cause and great final aim, from this illness which is unfortunately chronic for us.

The fact that its destructive virus is operating today in the party is evident from such characteristic features which are historically inherent in any cult. These include the gradual displacement of the Central Committee and the party itself from taking decisions on very important questions [applause]; these include the monopoly on taking decisions by a narrow circle of people, increasing claims by the leadership to possessing the final truth, the combining of many posts, with frequent statements in response to criticism of readiness to quit work in the Politburo and the Central Committee, [applause] and the resulting passivity in the party; these include carefully measured amounts of glasnost about the work of the Central committee and increasing misinformation in the official press about the true position in the party, society and the country. [applause]

All of this hinders the party leadership from listening to and hearing and, most importantly, from taking timely measures. This way, just as in earlier times, lead to

unpredictable consequences. One example of this attitude is the indifference of the Central Committee toward the workers' movement which is developing rapidly, becoming sharply politicised but alongside which negative processes are also developing. Communist workers are quitting the ranks of the CPSU. Young people are not joining the party. The party is growing older and losing its class essence.

The workers' movement in favor of perestroyka—I am referring to all forms of this, including the Peasants Union—is becoming more and more attractive to the workers than the activity of the CPSU which is slow to or is unable to move reform forward in the economy and in politics effectively or defend the basic interests of working people. In this situation the struggle by workers' collectives against the command and administrative methods of management and the industrial sectors' monopolism is spreading to include strugle against the party too. In my view this is also being consciously promoted by some ultra left-wing political forces and also by forces putting the brake on perestroyka in the sectors of the economy.

It is no coincidence that in the first wave of strikes last year, the main blow was struck against the local party, soviet and economic bodies even though the reasons and causes for the growth of events lay deeper. They lay within the sectors. Now, when much in the sectors remains just as it was but the local organs of power have been renewed and have included active participants in the strikes, leaders of workers committees, the expected new upsurge of strugle will most likely strike at the center, the sectors and the government. This is being facilitated by the formation of the Confederation of Labor as a body to coordinate the workers' movement.

It is quite possible that the next step may be the creation of a new workers' party. It seems that if the CPSU together with the government and the departments continues to move slowly in carrying out reforms and does not really turn to the working man this new party might act against it. However, if the communists join in the workers' movement and support its basic aims then they will gain a very powerful social basis for the true renewal and strengthening of the CPSU which is particularly important and essential in the conditions of the multiparty system which is coming into being and the increasing extremism. If we let this moment slip and give other political forces the opportunity to do this, then we may lose the class basis of the party and correspondingly weaken its influence on the situation in the country.

I am making these assessments and conclusions on the basis of the state of the workers' movement in the Kuzbass which to a large extent is running ahead of analogous phenomena throughout the country. It is now more important than ever before that the party [bell rings]... I am just finishing... help the workers' movement to move into a positive and creative channel. [passage omitted]

Workers who are communists and nonparty members must recognize that the CPSU is their party. Only it must be cleansed by its own hands of all the trash which has accumulated in it over past years. Our party is being abused and run down by the representatives of all sorts of political trends and by renegades from its own ranks not only for the mistakes it has made but also because it is a strong party and is the only obstacle for those who now want to destroy the party and then pull our country to pieces. [applause] [passage omitted]

Report on Opening of Supreme Soviet Session

LD2206073690 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 0600 GMT 22 Jun 90

[Text] The Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic [RSFSR] Supreme Soviet session opened today at 0900 in the Council of Ministers building on Krasnopresnenskaya Naberezhnaya embankment. It is planned to complete the formation of the parliament's commissions and committees.

From 1200, the sitting of the RSFSR Congress of People's Deputies will resume in the Kremlin. Final matters on the approved agenda will be discussed. It is intended to conclude the Congress of People's Deputies meeting today.

Supreme Soviet Deputy Chairmen View Congress

LD2106221890 Moscow World Service in English 2010 GMT 20 Jun 90

[Report by parliamentary correspondent Boris Markovnikov—read by announcer]

[Text] Here is a report from our parliamentary correspondent, Boris Markovnikov, about the Thursday news conference with the deputy chairmen of the Supreme Soviet of the Russian Federation [RSFSR]: The Congress of People's Deputies of the Russian Federation is nearing completion. The agenda approved at the beginning has been actually exhausted and key questions settled. The new Russian parliament was born in an atmosphere of heated debates. What do the deputy chairmen of the Supreme Soviet, Svetlana Goryacheva and Boris Isayev, think of the congress?

Svetlana Goryacheva has an optimistic impression of the congress. First of all, it approved two key documents: the declaration of sovereignty and the statement on the mechanism of power by the people. It elected the Supreme Soviet, its chairmen and deputies. Now the congress is deciding which laws should be passed first of all. There were many passionate discussions at the congress, of course, but that is far better than the uninimity of the previous Russian parliaments. Everyone can see what the uninimity has led to.

Boris Isayev agreed with such an assessment of the congress. Speaking of the laws that should be passed in the first place, he named the laws on property, land, entrepreneurship, and the status of people's deputies.

The congress instructed the Supreme Soviet to pass some 20 laws. All of them are pressing.

For the first time, different blocs and groups have been set up by MPs. A total of 33 of them have been registered with their own political and professional interests. How does the leadership of the Supreme Soviet interact with them? Answering this questions, Svetlana Goryacheva said that there have been no serious differences on problems under debate. All of us have one interest, she said, Russia, its revival and prosperity. Neither are there any differences in the leadership of the Supreme Soviet.

Meanwhile, Boris Isayev recalled that the Congress of People's Deputies of the Russian Federation had made changes in the Constitution and now all political parties in the republic enjoy equal rights. By the way, there is a clause in the statement on the mechanism of power by the people saying that the combination of a leading post in government bodies and any other post, including in parties, public or political movements, is prohibited in the republic. And this provision applies to everyone. This means that no party will have privileges. We are ready for cooperation with the Communist Party of the Russian Federation, Boris Isayev said, primarily in implementing our documents. That is, the decree on power and the declaration of sovereignty.

Moscow TV Relays 21 June Congress Proceedings

Procurator Amendment Proposed

LD2106122790

[Editorial Report] Moscow Television Service in Russian at 1000 GMT on 21 June begins carrying a recorded relay of the 21 June proceedings of the Russian Socialist Federated Soviet Republic (RSFSR) Congress of People's Deputies session in the Kremlin in Moscow.

Yeltsin asks deputies to salute the RSFSR flag. The first 30 minutes are to be allotted to general topics.

At 1002 GMT an unidentified deputy talks about the effects of drought upon the Altay region which depends on agriculture for its livelihood. He asks for special measures to be adopted to provide emergency aid to the area. There is also a severe housing shortage there because of a lack of construction supplies.

At 1007 GMT Yeltsin says the Council of Ministers will examine the situation in Altay and find out what Russia can do.

At 1009 GMT Deputy Medvedev from Moscow speaks in defense of the 'POZITSAYA' magazine which had been accused of sowing interethnic strife. He denies that the article in question had any such intention. He calls for a commission to be created to look into the threats against the magazine.

At 1011 GMT Yeltsin says this is unnecssary; the procuracy can deal with this.

At 1014 GMT Deputy Belov calls for a sharp, uncompromising and energetic campaign against corruption which, he says, is growing. The RSFSR procurator should be accountable to the congress on this matter.

At 1019 GMT Yeltsin says there have already been proposals on this, including a proposed amendment to the republic's Constitution that the RSFSR procurator should be approved by the RSFSR congress. He calls for a vote on this. The decision is adopted.

At 1026 GMT Yeltsin answers a deputy's objections to provisions made in the amendment for the rights of autonomous formations and offers the floor to Tikhonov from Tyumen, who calls for an explanation of yesterday's television coverage of the congress and Chikin's remarks to the party congress and complains about the militia cordon outside the building.

At 1029 GMT another deputy urges the inclusion of credits to kolkhozes (collective farms) on the agenda and a vote on it. Yeltsin takes a vote on whether to include that point on the agenda: 508 for, 118 against, 10 abstentions.

At 1031 GMT Deputy Yeltsov objects to Stalin's genocide being described as the socalist choice and calls for a vote on a congress decision to ban the forced teaching of communist ideology in Russian educational establishments.

Privileges Debated

LD2106123990

[Editorial Report] Moscow Television Service in Russian at 1034 GMT on 21 June continues to carry a recorded relay of the 21 June session of the RSFSR Congress of People's Deputies in the Kremlin in Moscow.

Deputy Kuznetsov criticizes the chairmanship but Yeltsin cuts him off.

At 1035 GMT Tuleyev from the Kuzbass raises issues of concern to his region. Abdulvesirov from Dagestan raises the plight of his compatriots living across the border in Georgia and asks the congress to appeal to the Georgian people to respect old ties of friendship. Yeltsin rejects the establishment of a commission to send to Georgia on the grounds that it would exacerbate the problem.

At 1042 GMT Yeltsin declares the discussion closed. Deputies object, so he puts the guillotine to the vote. The proposal is passed.

At 1045 GMT Yeltsin recalls a draft regulation on facilities for deputies debated earlier. Supplementary work has been done on it in the meantime, and Yeltsin calls on Shakhray to report on this. He criticizes those deputies who already have transport and assistants who seek to deprive their colleagues of such rights. Parliament must have the resources to become a strong body

and combat the bureaucracy effectively. He outlines other provisions of the regulations, including salaries and transport.

At 1058 GMT Yeltsin invites questions to Shakhray, who answers numerous questions from the floor on individual points in the regulation.

At 1124 GMT Yeltsin calls for a vote on a proposal to end the discussion. It is passed. A deputy comes to the rostrum to make a further point about transport for deputies. Yeltsin says there has already been plenty of discussion. The regulation is provisional, and he feels it can be adopted now. Calls for vote. Several deputies propose amendments to details. Yeltsin reminds them that details will be refined later.

At 1132 GMT a deputy calls for a vote to proceed. Yeltsin agrees, people are debating, not making points relevant to the vote. He calls a vote. The provisional regulation is adopted by 714 to 31 with six abstentions. Yeltsin says proposed amendments are now to be voted on, referring deputies to copies in their hands. Shakhray supplies some details on a second amendment while the vote on previous ones is in progress. The first amendment is passed. Reregistration is called for after the second one fails in order to check for quorum. There are 842 present; a quorum is 708. The second amendment is passed.

At 1140 GMT Yeltsin asks if the electronic vote system is working all right. It is. A deputy from the floor says they are confused about what the amendments refer to. Shakhray explains. Yeltsin calls for a vote on adopting an article in the distributed copy. This is accepted. The same procedure is used for another article, which is passed, and for an amendment.

At 1147 GMT discussion of amendments to the regulations continues. Yeltsin takes a vote on point 2 of the proposed version which is passed by 742 to 71, with six abstentions. A vote is taken on point 3 which is passed by the same margin.

At 1150 GMT Yeltsin moves on to point 7, concerning salaries for Supreme Soviet deputies serving on committees. Travkin submits an amendment, on which a vote is taken: 512 for, 278 against, so the amendment is rejected. Another vote is taken on a deputy's amendment to point 11. It is rejected by 473 to 232, with 22 abstentions.

At 1154 GMT, a vote is taken on an amendment to point 15, concerning the provision of working and living space for deputies. This is rejected by 669 to 131, with 13 abstentions.

At 1156 GMT Yeltsin asks for views on Tikhomirov's amendment to point 13, concerning payments to assistants in proportion to the number of a deputy's constituents. Vote taken. Rejected by 646 to 143. Yeltsin takes a vote on a proposal that deputies should be granted free access to any enterprise in the RSFSR to meet voters. This is passed by 688 to 145, with four abstentions. A vote is taken on the text of a provision governing deputies' leave allowance. Passed by 713 to 51, with three abstentions.

At 1202 GMT a vote is called on the draft decision on the regulation as a whole. Passed by 809 to 23, with two abstentions.

At 1203 GMT Yeltsin announces a 30-minute interval.

Interethnic Conflict Law Urged

LD2106140390

[Editorial Report] Moscow Television Service in Russian at 1204 GMT on 21 June continues to carry a recorded relay of the 21 June session of the RSFSR Congress of People's Deputies in the Kremlin in Moscow.

The television caption shows afternoon session. Yeltsin offers the floor to Krasavchenko to report on supplementary work done by an editorial commission on the draft decision, already adopted as a basis, on the preparation and examination of RSFSR laws. Krasavchenko explains how various groups of laws have been categorized.

At 1210 GMT Yeltsin invites questions to Krasavchenko on the commission's findings. Several deputies raise issues of interest to them which they want included in the lists of laws to be considered. Each receives an explanation from Krasavchenko.

At 1223 GMT a vote is taken on a proposal to stop the question-and-answer session: passed by 718 to 27, with no abstentions. Yeltsin invites Krasavchenko to handle written questions. He answers one on zones affected by radiation.

At 1225 GMT Yeltsin proposes a time-limit for the speeches which are to follow and takes a vote on it: passed by 657 to 56, with one abstention.

At 1226 GMT the first speaker, Glotov from Krasnodar, expresses views on the post of president of the republic and explains why he is in favor of the institution.

AT 1231 GMT Kiselev proposes that the RSFSR Council of Ministers draft an economic program to be adopted at an extraordinary congress, and that commissions be formed to discuss the new union treaty together with representatives of other republics.

At 1234 GMT Polyakov suggests that the law on health care should have a point on development of resorts.

At 1237 GMT Bignov complains that the question of decisions promoting housing construction has now been excluded from priorities and requests that the Supreme Soviet be instructed to draft a law on housing.

At 1241 GMT Smirnov, leader of a Moscow patriotic-military association, demands that consideration be

given to erecting memorials to fallen war heroes and investigating missing, presumed dead persons.

At 1245 GMT Tikhonov, on the staff of a polytechnic, speaks about the law on popular education, saying it should also encompass training of cadres.

At 1248 GMT Abdulatipov, chairman of the Soviet of Nationalities, says that the relevant law lacks a proper foundation on which interethnic problems can be settled. He calls for a law on the federation to be drafted. Whatever laws on interethnic relations may say, there is also a need for the protection of national rights at the level of the individual. A law on the operation of nationality associations should be drafted.

At 1252 GMT Akhmedkanov suggests that a law on pensioners is needed, and talks about alternatives to increasing the price of bread.

At 1254 GMT a vote is called on ending the dicsussion. There is no quorum, (703 total). Deputies standing at microphones are asked to sit and vote. Please work, don't stand, says Yeltsin; 821 are registered present. The vote succeeds.

At 1253 GMT Yeltsin says the resolution has been adopted as a basis, and now amendments must be voted on. The hall agrees to leave an amendment about titles of laws aside, for discussion by commissions. Vote is taken on instructing the Supreme Soviet to draft a law about health resorts. The proposals fails by 329 to 438. An amendment adding training of cadres to the law on popular education falls. An amendment to the title of a law on the status of languages in the RSFSR is adopted. A proposal for a law on consumer rights is adopted. A proposal for a law on youth fails. An amendment to a proposal for a law on state structure of the RSFSR and autonomy, to include an article on federal structure and federal treaty, is passed by 674 to 95. Yeltsin reckons a law on forestry protection could be subsumed in a law on ecology, but deputies demand a vote. The proposal is rejected.

At 1310 GMT a proposal for a law on social security fails. A proposal for social protection for poorly-off citizens is passed by 770 to 53, with six abstentions. A proposal for a law on foreign economic activity is adopted.

Quorums Debated

LD2106143690

[Editorial Report] Moscow Television Service in Russian at 1314 GMT on 21 June continues to carry a recorded relay of the 21 June session of the RSFSR Congress of People's Deputies in the Kremlin in Moscow.

Yeltsin invites Deputy Kuznetsov to speak on a proposal for drafting the outline economic reform. Kuznetsov says the decisions in this sphere which were adopted in laws have changed the original intentions, and that new separate instruction is required for the Supreme Soviet to draft the outline. Vote goes 720 for, 43 against, 28 abstentions.

At 1318 GMT, regarding a proposal on developing links with other republics, Yeltsin advises deputies that later a draft resolution will be distributed concerning the development of state sovereignty and the delegation of powers to the center. A deputy agrees to withdraw his proposal in light of this.

At 1320 GMT a proposal for law on housing fails. A proposal for law on nationality associations and societies fails. An addendum about memorials for war heroes is adopted.

At 1322 GMT an amendment from Serdyukov about procedures for adopting Union laws and international conventions fails. Serdyukov comes to the rostrum to explain another of his amendments, concerning local soviets. The amendment is passed. Yeltsin rejects a proposal for state examinations for state functionaries; Serdyukov comes to the rostrum to defend it. A vote rejects it. Minor changes in the wording of several articles are voted on.

At 1329 GMT Glotov and others' proposal for drafting a law on the president of the RSFSR and some other posts fails—471 for, 294 against, 27 abstentions. Protests from hall. A deputy from the floor asks for named voted. Yeltsin suggests that eventually there will be a need for such laws, but now is not the time to deal with the whole set of them. He calls a named vote on the proposal. Deputies argue about whether a named vote should be taken or not. Yeltsin finally closes the subject saying the vote stands as it is and moves on, despite protests from floor. We can always come back to the question, he says.

At 1336 GMT a vote is called on a proposal for a law on the abolition of privileges. It is adopted by 689 to 81, with nine abstentions. A proposal for a law on state service fails. A proposal for a law on state symbols is passed. A proposal for a law on the function of the Army and KGB in the RSFSR fails by 449 to 323, with 19 abstentions.

At 1341 GMT a deputy from the floor returns to the question of named votes. Yeltsin says the proposal for named votes was rejected by a vote, as there was not a quorum. Another deputy argues with him from the floor on this point. Yeltsin confers and says no vote can be passed without a quorum. He calls another vote on named voting. It goes 368 to 194 with nine abstentions, so it fails. No deputies are asked to register by name: 804 are present, so people can't be voting, says Yeltsin. More debate on the essential nature of quorums ensues.

Voting Mistakes Debated

LD2106145590

[Editorial Report] Moscow Television Service in Russian at 1347 GMT on 21 June continues to carry a

recorded relay of the 21 June session of the RSFSR Congress of People's Deputies in the Kremlin in Moscow.

Yeltsin brings the deputies back to the current topic—A proposal for a law on municipal militia, which is adopted 664 to 100.

At 1348 GMT Deputy Rasskazov comes to the rostrum to speak about a vote by name on the office of president. Deputy Bogoyenko protests from the floor about Yeltsin's conduct of the named vote issue. Yeltsin reads relevant part of the standing orders. Deputy Lugovoy talks about filibustering methods some deputies are trying to use and defend Yeltsin. Several more deputies continue the argument.

At 1400 GMT Yeltsin says that dispite what Article 35 says and the different ways of interpreting it, nevertheless he has made a mistake, a mistake has been made by the electronic group, with regard to voting on voting by name. He accepts the protest against him by the deputy with regard to the mistake, and accepts that there was the necessary one fifth. The decision on voting by name is therefore adopted from the moment when it was voted upon. We must therefore revote all issues subsequent to that moment.

At 1403 GMT a deputy from the floor welcomes Yeltsin's statement. Under our standing orders how can the votes we have just taken be annulled?

Babayev from Ivanovo asks whether the chairman can explain the need to return several steps backward to vote again on what has just been voted upon.

At 1405 GMT an Ulyanovsk deputy raises a procedural point in support of the idea of voting by name.

At 1406 GMT a Leningrad deputy quotes the standing orders on the possibility of repeating votes in the event of failure of the electronic machinery. Other deputies make procedural points on this issue.

Deputies continue to make points on the issue of voting by name or otherwise. Yeltsin says that it is time to end this discussion—we are just prolonging the congress. When the presidency issue was raised, the by name voting proposal had not been put to the vote, says Yeltsin. So that issue does not need a revote. Another deputy rises to say where he thinks the vote on the voting by name proposal took place. Do we go back or not, Yeltsin asks. Other deputies rise to make procedural points about what Yeltsin should now do as a result of his mistake. Yeltsin will not go back to the presidency. He agrees to a revote on all issues subsequent to the vote on the activity of the army and KGB on the territory of the RSFSR. Who is opposed to going back? Yeltsin asks.

At 1421 GMT Deputy Varfolomeyev takes the rostrum to make procedural points. Yeltsin suggests continuing from this point in the agenda, voting on the issues, with the electronic group being able to provide a print-out of who voted for what and against what on demand.

At 1425 GMT a deputy opposes this suggestion, maintaining that the congress has to return to some of the issues already voted on.

Yeltsin reads out Article 36 of the standing orders on what should be done in the event of a mistake. He puts it to the vote: Should we go back or not go back? The issue is rejected: 365 voting for, 373 voting against, and 11 abstentions. We therefore continue from where we left off. Yeltsin puts to a vote by name the amendment on lease contracting. The proposed amendment is rejected.

At 1429 GMT Yeltsin puts to the name vote the whole package of amendments to be referred to the RSFSR Supreme Soviet. Adopted: 816 for, six against, no abstentions.

At 1433 GMT Yeltsin puts to the name vote another package concerning the standing orders of the congress. It is rejected—no quorum.

At 1435 GMT a deputy says the 20-second mode of voting is too short for the electronic machine to cope with and a revote is suggested.

Yeltsin reads out provisions in the draft package concerning working procedures of the congress. A revote is taken. Adopted: 806 for, one against, 10 abstentions.

At 1437 GMT a draft law on the mass media is to be discussed now. Yeltsin suggests an hour for discussion and five minutes for each speaker. This is adopted.

The recorded relay ends at 1439 GMT, with the announcer saying that it will be resumed at 1715 GMT.

Mass Media Viewed

LD2106184590

[Editorial Report] Moscow Television Service in Russian at 1715 GMT on 21 June resumes its recorded relay of the 21 June session of the RSFSR Congress of People's deputies in the Kremlin in Moscow.

The discussion concerns the mass media. Yeltsin gives the floor to Deputy Gurevich.

At 1716 GMT Gurevich gives a report on behalf of the commission which investigated the reasons behind the postponement of broadcasting Yeltsin's address to the Russian people on television. The commission has met media representatives and discussed what took place on 9 June—why Yeltsin was not given possibility to address people on television on 8 June. Gurevich gives an account of the facts they managed to establish. Heads of central television decided to postpone the broadcast from 7 to 8 June because of the Thatcher and Mitterrand press conferences.

Nenashev and Reshetov kept postponing the program on various pretexts. The commission deplores the actions of television leadership. This case cannot be separated from a more general issues of the role of mass media in the

RSFSR. Many newspapers simply ignore or criticize the congress unjustly. Examples are given. Russia's own media should be set up.

At 1728 GMT Yeltsin suggests that conclusions of the commission not be discussed. Deputy Slobodkin tries to speak from the rostrum but Yeltsin does not allow him. There is general commotion.

At 1732 GMT Gurevich returns to the rostrum to try to calm the audience down.

At 1734 GMT Deputy Slobodkin finally takes the floor. He is member of the commission, too, although he was the only one not to sign the commission's conclusions. He speaks about Gorbachev's letter rejecting allegations to the effect that he, Gorbachev, was involved in banning Yeltsin's interview on television. The commission should have answered the letter but it avoided the issue. He suggests his amendments to the commission's conclusions. Those deputies who insulted the president should apologize for their behavior. He tries to read a draft letter of apologies but Yeltsin switches off the microphone. There is more commotion in the hall.

At 1740 GMT there is a vote on whether to discuss the issue. The decision is no discussion will be held.

At 1741 GMT a vote is taken on recognizing the commission statement. It is rejected.

At 1742 GMT there is a vote on adding Slobodkin's amendments to the commission's conclusions. It is rejected. Yeltsin suggests that a letter to the president should be sent. A vote is taken on this. It is adopted.

At 1745 GMT a discussion of the RSFSR mass media begins, in accordance with the agenda. Deputy Novikov from Moscow takes the floor. He makes proposals for setting up Russian media because Union media are inadequate.

Republic Owned Media Urged

LD2106195690

[Editorial Report] Moscow Television Service in Russian at 1753 GMT on 21 June continues to carry a recorded relay of the 21 June session of the RSFSR Congress of People's Deputies in the Kremlin in Moscow. Deputy Kurkova stresses the need to have Russian media. APN should be handed over to the Russian Supreme Soviet. She says Russian television independent of the Gosteleradio (State Committee for Television and Radio Broadcasting) is required. She recalls some conflicts among media management.

At 1758 GMT Deputy Shinkarevskiy says that monopoly on information results in misinformation. The second all-Union channel should be given over to Russia as soon as possible. Regional television studios should be governed by local bodies of power. Yesterday's speech of Chikin, SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA's editor in chief, at the Congress of the Russian Communist Party is shameful, he says.

At 1803 GMT Deputy Beketov, political observer, says that television in Russia, with its poor communications, is the most important media tool. Russia should have its own television.

At 1809 GMT Deputy Gasparyan, correspondent from Bryansk, says the media are a save of the party. The congress' decision on Chernobyl was incomplete, those responsible for the Chernobyl disaster and its consequences for the population should be brought to account. Journalists are often gagged by party committees, journalists need freedom of speech to be really efficient. He has more criticism of Chikin.

At 1814 GMT Deputy Andronov, international affairs journalist, says before taking over the media, freedom of speech should be guaranteed. He says Soviet POWs in Afghanistan will not be freed until Soviet arms deliveries to Afghanistan stop. At least R300 million is spent on Afghanistan monthly. Let us leave Afghanistan alone, he says.

At 1820 GMT Deputy Krivchenko outlines other measures aimed at strengthening freedom of the media. Only party newspapers and publishing houses have no difficulties or shortages of paper, he says.

At 1826 GMT Deputy Tikhomirov, political observer, says Russia's interests cannot be defended within the present structure of Gosteleradio. Article 5 of Lithuanian independence declaration is recalled. A television and radio committee is needed, subordinate to a parliamentary council.

At 1834 GMT Deputy Beloglazov says central media have been discussed, but what about the provincial ones? Monopoly of media must go. He says truth-tellers have been persecuted by the party. We are being beaten both from the left and from the right. He supports the resolution on press law.

At 1838 GMT Deputy Monokhin from Novosibirsk says a Siberian newspaper was threatened with close-down two months ago because of its politics. This shows the party still has monopoly of media. Main publishing houses should be handed over to Soviets or labor kollektivs to protect press freedom, he says. The party has been receiving all profits from the press—this is wrong. He calls for support of the resolution!

At 1841 GMT Yeltsin puts the draft resolution to vote. The resolution would set up republican media network. Parliamentary council would oversee this. A vote is taken. The resolution is passed with 728 in favor, 39 against, nine abstentions. The Tyumen delegation has suggested working today till 2200 and taking tomorrow off, says Yeltsin. He proposes a 15-minute break; he doesn't think they can work till 2200. A deputy makes a procedural suggestion. Yeltsin reads out topics to be

debated. Kuzbas miners want to speak. One draft concerns demarcation of functions of RSFSR organizations.

At 1850 GMT a deputy complains about the way the work is being organized: We're all in the dark. Yeltsin explains procedural options. He discusses when the Supreme Soviet should take a week's recess.

At 1851 GMT a deputy says proceedings should be completed. Yeltsin appeals for silence, then waits for deputies to quiet down. If necessary, the Supreme Soviet can convene on Monday or Tuesday, but many deputies will be leaving today or tomorrow and have already bought air tickets.

At 1855 GMT Gurevich suggests continuing work tomorrow. Yeltsin says committees and commissions have been formed.

At 1852 GMT Khizbulatov puts forward his views on committees and commissions. Their numbers are uneven and need careful analysis. Too many want to engage in foreign affairs. He doubts whether a minister should be on a committee.

At 1900 GMT Desyatnikov says wisdom and caution are needed on the issue of a Union treaty.

At 1902 GMT Solzhenitsin is discussed by a deputy, who hands to chairman a brief resolution. A deputy says procedural rules are being broken and the agenda could be completed tomorrow. Travkin says half a day must be devoted to committees. The importance of demarcation of functions is stressed. A resolution must be passed.

At 1907 GMT Yeltsin puts two proposals to vote: finish tomorrow, or finish today. It is decided to continue tomorrow.

Russian Congress Adopts Decision on Mass Media

LD2106220390 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1800 GMT 21 Jun 90

[Excerpts] [passage omitted] The third question on the agenda which the Russian people's deputies examined today was the mass media. Ten deputies representing the glasnost group which was set up at the congress spoke on this question. All of them tried to prove the need for the creation in the Russian Federation of its own mass media. In particular Deputy Novikov said that he who controls television possesses power. Now, in the century of the scientific- technical revolution, it is perfectly possible to find new means of broadcasting information via communications satellites, with the aid of radio relay lines, etc. His view was supported by Deputy Kurkova from Leningrad. She proposed that TASS should be left subordinated to the Union and that APN be handed over to Russia. In the deputy's view, this would make it possible to inform the voters fully and truthfully of the decisions taken by the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic [RSFSR] Congress of People's Deputies and Supreme Soviet.

People's Deputy Shinkaritskiy, a special correspondent from the main editorial of television and radio programs for Moscow, proposed that the Second Channel of Central Television be put under Russia's jurisdiction. People's Deputy Beketov, political observer of Central Television, raised the question of the training of cadres for the future Russian Television. Gasparyan, a people's deputy from Bryansk Oblast, spoke of the need to rid the mass media of party control. This thought was continued in the address by People's Deputy Krivchenko, TASS correspondent for Amur Oblast. [passage omitted] As a result, after a fairly constructive discussion, a decision by the Congress of People's Deputies on mass media was adopted. This decision was read out by Boris Nikolayevich Yeltsin.

[Begin Yeltsin recording] First, the RSFSR Congress of People's Deputies believes it necessary to create a republican network of mass media.

Second, the RSFSR Supreme Soviet, jointly with the republic's government, is to be instructed to take measures to set up the above-mentioned republican network of mass media, including a RSFSR Supreme Soviet newspaper, magazines, a Russian telegraphic agency, a committee for television and radio broadcasting, and to strengthen the material and production base for the RSFSR mass media which is being created.

Third, the RSFSR Supreme Soviet is to be instructed to set up a parliamentary council, and questions of cadres' financial and technical policy of the development of television and radio broadcasting in the RSFSR are to be placed under its jurisdiction. [end recording]

At this point today's meeting of RSFSR Congress of People's Deputies ended. The congress will continue its work tomorrow.

Deputy Views Decision

LD2106230990 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1814 GMT 21 Jun 90

[Speech by Deputy Andronov, international affairs journalist and chairman of the All-Union Association of Families of Soviet Prisoners of War, Electoral District 29, Independennt Deputies group, at the 21 June session of the RSFSR Congress of People's Deputies in the Kremlin in Moscow—recorded]

[Text] Dear comrades, as a professional journalist of 30 years' standing, I can regard what we're discussing today from only one aspect: Whether it will be useful to transfer to Russia its own news media, if that news media is really going to be the bearer of the truth, if it will be objective in its coverage of what is happening in our own country and abroad, so that we may have a true picture of the world at home and beyond this country, and so that you, the deputies, may, on the basis of this, take the right political decisions? Is that so at the present time? I can say that in spite of all the glasnost and openness, it isn't always so.

Here is what I am personally concerned about. Last Sunday, IZVESTIYA, a much respected paper, printed an article on the release of one of our POWs from Afghan captivity—one of our boys who fell into the hands of the enemy there, and was languishing there for a long time. Here the question arises, what about the others? What will become of the others, what will be their fate? Incidentally, here is the official Defense Ministry list, there are more than 300 of them. In reality there are a lot more. So that means at least 300 unfortunate mothers, unfortunate families, are waiting for their lads to come home from there and hoping they are still alive.

The majority are from Russia, lads from the schools who were thrown into that hell. We don't know when they will return, for the one simple reason that from 15 February 1989, our troops, when they pulled out, only managed to snatch from captivity four men, including this last one. The paper gives an evasive answer—this honest newspaper—about what will happen to the others for one simple reason. Because there are subjects on which even such influential central newspapers as IZVESTIYA are forbidden to speak the truth. The truth is that the Mujahidin leaders—the leaders of their provisional government, with whom I have conducted negotiations for many weeks—say, we won't hand over all your POWs, we won't even hand over the majority of them, until you stop killing us; we won't return them to you until they stop killing us with your weapons. Because, comrades, unfortunately, our correspondents are not reporting the whole truth from Afghanistan. Yes, they report the periodical shellings of Kabul with U.S. small-bore rockets. However, they don't report that Kabul is being shaken every day as if by an earthquake by our gigantic, enormous rockets with their enormous load of explosives, so that the windows shake in the city and the earth trembles. Every day they are soar into the air. They come over and hit enormous areas. These are weapons of mass attack, and this is a partisan war. You can imagine how much of the hitherto peaceful population is being killed in this war. We have departed; we have condemned that war; we have called it a crime. Good. How long then are we going to feed that war with our lethal weapons from Russia? These are weapons from Russia. We have condemned those who unleashed the war, or rather, those who sent our troops in and caused the deaths of 15,000 of our boys there. But what is happening today is happening in our presence, with our indirect connivance.

How much is being spent on that war, our central press doesn't tell us. Only the Americans report it. They've calculated it and they reckon that, per month, it's at least $300 million—per month! Ponder that sum! And that's not just arms, it's the thing we're most short of: supplies are airlifted, gigantic aircraft deliver there every day. In Vladimir Oblast there are hardly any shops and food is rationed; it's all going there. I don't want to accuse our military, our military have nothing to do with it. On the contrary, I know that many of our leading generals consider that it is not right, and it's only discipline that causes them to keep silent. Moreover...[Yeltsin reminds him that his time is up]

Very well, comrades, the last thing I want to say is that this is a matter for Russia. These men, boys, whom you sent there, they're ours, we've got to bring them back, and we've got to stop helping those who are destroying Afghans. We have given the Czechs and the Poles and the Bulgarians freedom to create their own governments. Let us leave that nation in peace. Let them decide these matters themselves without our rockets, shells and bombs. Help bring our surviving lads home, to their families and their mothers. [applause]

Yeltsin on Submitting Union Treaty Proposal

LD2106154190 Moscow Television Service Russian 1318 GMT 21 Jun 90

[Remarks by Boris Yeltsin, Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic RSFSR Supreme Soviet chairman, introducing proposal for law to be drafted, entitled "On the Union Treaty and Bilateral Treaties with Republics" to the RSFSR Congress of People's Deputies on 21 June in Moscow—recorded]

[Text] Esteemed people's deputies, if we can manage it, today, and if not, then tomorrow, a very, very serious document will be submitted, developing the declaration on the state sovereignty of the RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic]. It concerns the delegation of functions to the center, the Union, and it includes—the draft of this resolution has not yet been distributed to you—especially so as to avoid getting the center excited. [laughter, applause] We will submit it, let us say, some time before the discussion. And so, I take it the people's deputies do not insist on including this here? No? Good.

Yeltsin Suggests Postponing Debate on Presidency

LD2106155690 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1329 GMT 21 Jun 90

[Remarks by RSFSR Supreme Soviet President Boris Yeltsin at the Congress of People's Deputies of the RSFSR in Moscow—live]

[Excerpts] An amendment from People's Deputy Glotov, and several others have put it forward—a draft law on establishing the post of president of the RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic] and the mechanisms of introducing it in the republic, as an addendum. Please vote. [Video cuts to voting board showing 471 for, 294 against, 27 abstentions, amendment fails; disturbance in hall] Please come to the microphone to speak, if anyone is confused. Microphone no. 1, please.

[Unidentified deputy] I propose that we have a vote by name on this issue. It really is very important and serious for the future of Russia.

[Yeltsin] We are talking, of course, not about introducing the presidency straight away, but in principle. Obviously, it might be in someting like a year's time, but it would be drafting a whole set of laws connected with the president—a whole set of laws. And then we would have the election of a president by nationwide secret ballot. That is what we are talking about. With these finer points in mind, I would ask you to vote again. [noise from hall] A proposal has been made for a vote by name. I am putting the question of who is in favor of a vote by name. [passage omitted]

[Unidentified deputy] One-fifth of the deputies have to vote in favor; 460 people's deputies voted in favor.

[Yeltsin] Again there was no quorum in the vote. Do we really have to make an issue of this? Let us return to it another time. We have voted. Let us leave it at that. We will return to this matter at the second congress.

Congress Establishes Yeltsin's Salary

LD2106125590 Moscow TASS in English 1243 GMT 21 Jun 90

[By TASS parliamentary correspondents Lev Aksenov and Dmitriy Polunin]

[Text] Moscow June 21 TASS—The morning meeting of the First Congress of People's Deputies of the Russian Federation started today with discussions on the document linked directly to the work of the deputies' corps, the draft provisional statute on ensuring the activity of people's deputies of the Russian Federation.

The document, which sets out powers of people's deputies, envisages their right to participate in debates on any questions affecting interests of their voters, in bodies of state authority.

Debating salaries for deputies who will be working permanently on the Supreme Soviet of the Russian Federation, in its committees and in commissions of chambers, the participants decided to set them at the level of salaries for members of the USSR Supreme Soviet—R500. President of the Russian Federation's Supreme Soviet Boris Yeltsin will receive a salary of R900.

The congress endorsed the provisional statute by a majority vote. The Russian parliament is to draft a bill on the status of people's deputies of the Russian Federation to be later submitted at the congress.

Then the delegates started to discuss the enumeration of bills that are first of all to be worked out by Russia's parliament. It included legislative acts regulating the federation and national-state structure of the Russian Federation, the activity of political parties and public organizations, matters of property and taxation.

Besides that, on the proposal of deputies' groups, the list of draft laws of priority importance was supplemented with acts on social protection of people in the low income brackets, on local soviets of people's deputies and on the lifting of privileges.

It was initially planned to close the congress today. But there were extensive debates and the agenda has not been exhausted, so the forum has been extended.

Nevertheless, the results of the congress can already be summed up. This was mentioned at a news conference given by deputy heads of the Russian parliament Svetlana Goryacheva and Boris Isayev, held during a break at a congress today.

Goryacheva was optimistic of its results. She emphasised the importance of two documents adopted by the conference—the declaration of state sovereignty of the Russian Federation and the decree on the mechanism of people's power in the republic.

At the afternoon meeting the deputies are expected to start to consider one of the major items on the agenda—the mass media in the republic.

Report on Oil Pipeline Fire in Tyumen Oblast

LD2106103890 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1004 GMT 21 Jun 90

[Text] Nefteyugansk (Tyuman Oblast, West Siberia), 21 June (TASS)—One of the reservoirs of the line production and distribution station Karkateyeva, 20 km from Nefteyugansk, caught fire after being directly struck by lightning last night.

The fire extinguisher system went into operation, foam pumps switched themselves on, and in just half an hour the fire trucks that arrived from town were also at work. However, the flames and hurricane-force winds proved to be the stronger. After an hour and a half, the neighboring reservoir exploded, then another two. An area of approximately nine hectares is now in flames.

An emergency headquarters has been set up and extra forces have been called in. Everything possible is being done to contain the burning oil and prevent it from spreading further. Oil is being fed into the main oil pipeline through a backup string.

"Fortunately, none of the reservoirs was completely full," your TASS correspondent was informed at the fire brigade administration of the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic Ministry of Internal Affairs. "Nevertheless, there is great danger in that the oil includes a certain amount of water. Under the influence of high temperatures this can boil and then it is quite likely that oil will be ejected from the reservoirs. This station has 14 20,000-tonne tanks and 10 10,000-tonne tanks."

"The task now is to protect the neighboring reservoirs from heating up and catching fire. This is very difficult to do, because of the strong and gusting 20 metre per second wind. The fire brigades of Surgut and Nefteyugansk have been fully mobilized to fight the fire. There are 28 fire trucks operating there at the moment. A train

is heading for the area from Tyumen carrying 60 tonnes of foaming agents, and 160 firefighters from other areas have been sent in by plane. More help is on its way. Helicopters are ferrying in equipment and foaming agent. The fire is still burning, but the situation is under control".

Western Republics

Ukraine's Ivashko on Importance of 'Sovereignty'

LD2106161190 Kiev International Service in Ukrainian 1700 GMT 20 Jun 90

[Text] The 28th Ukrainian Communist Party Congress, which is continuing in Kiev, today focused its attention to the assertion of state sovereignity of Ukraine. According to Volodymyr Ivashko, first secretary of the Ukraine Central Committee Communist Party, without this the full-blooded political, economic, social and spiritual development of the republic is impossible, as is the preservation of the culture and language of the Ukrainian people and all national groups living in the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic [UKSSR]

According to his speech, the republic's leadership practiced uncritical attitudes to the decisions of all-Union bodies and did not show sufficient resoluteness in defending interests of the republic.

This was manifested, for example, by the Chernobyl tragedy.

Speakers at the congress voiced the urgent need of working out and adopting a new Union treaty.

Ukrainian Premier Denies 'Ultimatum' to Moscow

PM0506152790 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1700 GMT 1 Jun 90

[From the "Vremya" program: Reportage by V. Lyaskalo and S. Loseva]

[Text] [Announcer] If we are talking about elections of new leaders to represent the authorities and completely replace the old team, this process is acquiring a difficult, sensitive character everywhere. After all, in choosing various people to be leaders, we are also choosing a new course. It is after all obvious that those people who do not win should resign and allow others to have a go. Here are some elections. Here is a reportage from the Ukrainian Supreme Soviet session.

[Reporter] [video shows deputies in conference hall] Deputies have been working for two weeks, yet it was only three days ago that they embarked on one of the main points on the agenda—the election of the chairman of the Ukrainian SSR [Soviet Socialist Republic] Supreme Soviet. The candidacies put forward for this high post were discussed today—after a number of withdrawals there were eight contenders left by the evening sitting. These were Ivashko, first secretary of the Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee; Lukyanenko, chairman of the new Republican Party; academics Yukhnovskyy and Grinev [video shows woman speaking on rostrum]; Horyn, secretary of Rukh [Ukrainian Peoples Movement for Perestroyka]; writers Yavorivskyy and Drach; and Saliy, chairman of Kiev's Podolskiy Rayon Soviet. They are all prestigious people, well known in the republic, with considerable experience of public activity; and since the political platforms they have proclaimed from the rostrum with their aims and methods are sometimes quite diametrically opposed, the discussion of the candidacies has been vigorous, and words of both unconditional support and implacable rejection have been heard with regard to each of them. At the same time the deputies have adopted a number of resolutions on urgent matters [video shows man addressing deputies from rostrum]—some addressed to the USSR Supreme Soviet and connected with the USSR Government's submission of a concept for the transition to a regulated market economy. [video shows interviewer in corridor outside hall]

[Interviewer] So, Vitaliy Andreyevich, the mass media, as far as I know, after you adopted a resolution here at the session, you adopted a kind of economic ultimatum to the USSR Government on the question of the nature of Russia? [sentence as heard]

[V. Masol, chairman of the Ukrainian SSR Council of Ministers, identified by caption] I would not regard it as an ultimatum; we opposed a hasty and unprepared transition to a market economy. A market economy is a system, and a system must first and foremost have its laws: a law on taxation, a credit system, and so on. For that reason we advocated laws being prepared first, a system of taxation, a system of tariffs, well, a whole series of measures, and then moving on to a market economy.

Resurgence of Nationalism in Lvov Viewed

PM0706085790 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 6 Jun 90 Second Edition p 4

[Cadet Yu. Podkopayev article: "Lvov: The Political Situation. 'Us' and 'Them'"]

[Text] The air in Lvov is heavy with tension. People become aware of it in different ways. For newly elected deputies this is a time of intense work when a year is packed into every day, as the saying goes. But for people in Lvov, who are increasingly being frequently and loudly called nothing other than "Moscow stooges," it is a time of fears and doubts. Explicable and understandable fears and doubts, if you consider that the political situation in the region is tense and its development hard to predict.

Unfortunately, the positive changes that people had expected and on which they had been pinning their hopes often produce negative consequences here. Take the question of giving the Ukrainian language state

language status, for example. The struggle for the adoption of the corresponding law is often referred to as the beginning of "national rebirth" in the Ukraine. Now this law has been passed: a timely and undoubtedly necessary law. However, some forces in Lvov Oblast are trying to use this law for purposes that are far from fair. To discriminate, for example, against so-called "non-Ukrainians" in employment. Such instances do occur unfortunately.

People have also been put on their guard by the powerful anti-army campaign that has unfolded recently. Servicemen are being labelled "occupiers" and "invaders" with growing frequency. Under the pretext of overpopulation in Lvov City and Oblast, the number of apartments allocated to servicemen's families has been cut by 90 percent. Informal organizations are unrelenting in their attempts to boycott conscription. At the same time, people wishing to join the so-called "Ukrainian National Army" are being signed up. A "committee for the formation of Ukrainian armed forces" has even been set up. This action is just propaganda on the whole, although the aim of the intention is clear.

At a recent noisy anti-Army rally, I listened to a speech by a veteran of the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists. Without any embarrassment or apprehension, he described his "heroic" past. He regretted that times had changed, because otherwise....

"Perhaps you could join our Army as an instructor?", one of the rally organizers asked.

"Yes, I shall join as an instructor!", the "guest of honor" eagerly replied.

To quote the words of one classical writer, "the world is out of joint": the criminal and sadist Stepan Bandera is being dragged into the "national heroes" league and an aura of "romanticism" is being wrapped around people who committed bloody crimes against the Ukrainian people. The "Independent Ukrainian Youth League" is now becoming a carbon copy of the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists in its organizational structure: a "central channel" and channels at kray and rayon level have appeared. "Plasta," a youth organization of nationalists, has also started up....

All this was discussed at the oblast soviet's first session. A session that had been "democratically convened," as deputies themselves said. So what was their view of current events? An eloquent demonstration of this was provided by the persistency with which "democrats" tried to remove the bust of V.I. Lenin from the sessions hall. They failed. Then they found a "compromise solution": They draped a piece of blue and yellow cloth over the bust....

Some deputies simply ignored the fact that many people in Lvov Oblast are seriously worried by what is going on. Oblast Soviet Chairman B. Chornovil, for example, said that he "really knew nothing at all" about young people signing up for a "volunteer army" although this is happening not far from the soviet building.

However, the situation has long since gone beyond the point of "isolated incidents." Here are just a few figures. Three cases of servicemen being seriously maimed and injured were registered in the Carpathian Military District in the first three months of this year. A total of 14 people were subjected to moral and physical insult. Five officers' families received threats of physical violence. We should point out that all this is officially recorded: how much has not been documented?

Many people in Lvov Oblast intend to send their children away this summer to enroll in higher education establishments in Russia and Belorussia. The reason is the "Ukrainianization" of teaching at Lvov University (no longer Lvov "State" University, incidentally). Is this anything other than an infringement of the elementary civil rights of the non-Ukrainian population in the republic's western oblasts? One could, perhaps, appeal for help but to whom? To the local authorities? Would they offer protection to "non-Ukrainians" of whom there are more than 150,000 in Lvov alone—a considerable proportion of the city's population? Many people have their doubts about this, and not without reason: after all, there is not a single representative of ethnic minorities in the leading bodies of the city and oblast soviets of people's deputies.

On the other hand, someone by the name of M. Trilevskiy has been boldly nominated for the post of chief of the Architecture and City Planning Affairs Adminstration. According to I. Gel, deputy chairman of the oblast soviet, Trilevskiy's best recommendation is that he is the son-in-law of R. Shukhevich. Yes, yes, the selfsame Shukhevich—SS Hauptsturmfuehrer, commander of the "Nachtigal" punitive battalion, and subsequently a general in the "Ukrainian insurgent army" whose hands are stained with the blood of thousands of people.

Democracy "Lvov style" is disturbing and frightening. Mainly because of the stagnant smell of nationalism and the attempts to underpin this by creating paramilitary formations. Evidently some people here are no longer satisfied with theoretical arguments in a debate with people holding different opinions.

Fire Spreads at Donetsk's Kalinin Coal Mine

LD1806154490 Moscow TASS in English 1519 GMT 18 Jun 90

[Text] Donetsk June 18 TASS—Fire-brigades are still trying to put out the blaze at Donetsk's Kalinin mine, started at a depth of 229 meters Sunday morning.

The fire has quickly spread to a large area. No fatalities have been reported.

Two mine-workers were hospitalised with carbon monoxide poisoning, six are undergoing tests and preventive treatment.

Mine rescue units that arrived from various parts of the Donetsk coal basin are taking measures to prevent the fire from spreading to other pits.

Work had to be stopped at three drifts with an aggregate output of 450 tonnes of coal a day, situated at the same horizon as the affected pits.

Usual operations are being carried out in other pits.

A special commission has been set up to investigate the causes of the fire.

Moldavian Supreme Soviet on Interethnic Alienation

LD2006135490 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1100 GMT 20 Jun 90

[Text] The republic of Moldavia supreme soviet is in session at long last, working in its full composition today. Deputies, mostly those who represent non-Moldavian speaking population in the towns and rayons of the areas adjoining the Dniester—those who walked out of the session almost a month ago in protest—returned to the hall where the session is taking place. The session adopted a special decision on the protection of deputies' inviolability. The picketing has been lifted. The session started its work today by setting up a special deputies' group and conciliation commission to investigate the circumstances of interethnic alienation.

Moldovan Supreme Soviet Examines Media Issues

LD1806165490 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1020 GMT 18 Jun 90

[Text] Kishinev, 18 Jun (ATEM-TASS)—At a session of the Supreme Soviet of the Moldovan Soviet Socialist Republic a decision was adopted on the formation of an national center for television and radio broadcasting. As a result of the discussion, a point on the "depoliticization and deideologisation" of this mass media body was inserted into the draft presented to the deputies. In other words, as is envisaged by the document that there must not be any party or other sociopolitical organization that could influence the nature of information issued within the apparatus of the future center.

Discussion of a draft decision of the Moldovan Supreme Soviet on an ethnic information center, which is supposed to replace the present ATEM information agency, proceeded in an atmosphere of tension. This draft decision was not adopted. It was decided to send it for elaboration.

The Supreme Soviet session adopted the proposal of a commission on the creation of a press organ of the Supreme Soviet SFATUL TSERIY [SOVIET OF THE COUNTRY]. The newspaper will be issued six times a week in the state and Russian (in translation from the Moldavian) languages, and besides this, the monthly magazine MONITORUL OFICHIAL AL MOLDOVEY [OFFICIAL MONITOR OF MOLDOVA]

Moldavia's Dnestr Region Deputies Interviewed

PM1506101790 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 14 Jun 90 First Edition p 4

[Interview with Moldavian deputies by unidentified KRASNAYA ZVEZDA correspondent: "Why Deputies Left Parliament"]

[Text] As the press has already reported, the first congress of deputies of the Dnestr region was held in Moldavia 2 June. The congress created the socioeconomic association of Dnestr rayons. Our correspondent talks with Soviet Socialist Republic of Moldova People's Deputies Aleksandr Nikolayevich Morozov, deputy secretary of the Moldavian hydroelectric power station party committee; Oleg Petrovich Zapolskiy, chairman of the Bendery City council of war and labor veterans; Aleksandr Petrovich Bulychev, agrotechnician at the "Pamyati Ilicha" fruit production enterprise, Slobodzeyskiy Rayon; and Boris Nikolayevich Akulov, shop chief at the Rybnitsa City cement and slate combine, about what kind of an association this is, what aims it pursues, and what gave rise to its emergence .

B. Akulov: The congress of deputies of the Dnestr region adopted a declaration which indicates the prime reasons both for the congress itself and for the measures elaborated at it. First of all, the mechanism for the adoption of laws by the Moldova Supreme Soviet does not make it possible to defend the civil and political rights of the national minorities in the republic. Moreover, decisions are being taken forbidding the people of a specific territory from voicing their opinion through a referendum on questions within the competence of the local soviets. The constitution of the republic and the USSR constitution are thus grossly violated. Economic pressure on the Dnestr cities and rayons is already to be discerned and is expressed in the holding up of deliveries through cooperative channels from enterprises on the right bank and the introduction of restrictions on the delivery of consumer goods and food.

Correspondent: As people's deputies of the republic you had the opportunity to state your problems from the parliamentary rostrum. Why did you not make use of this opportunity?

A. Morozov: Well, first of all it must be said that for us, the representatives of national minorities, getting to the parliamentary rostrum is not at all simple. Moreover, the most vitally important questions at the session are "skated over," as they say, at a gallop. The impression is that the authors of particular laws take the majority of deputies for extras who are obliged to raise their hands "for" or "against" without thinking. That was how the laws on languages and the republican symbol were adopted. For instance, no one deemed it necessary to ponder the fact that Russians, Bulgarians, Ukrainians, Gagauz, Jews, and Germans live on Moldavian territory and that finally among us in the Dnestr region a large percentage of Moldavians do not know the Moldavian

language. What is to happen to them? Or take the situation over the "tricolor," which has been declared the national flag....

O. Zapolskiy: Essentially it is a precise copy of the state flag of neighboring Romania. And if you look at history, the "tricolor" in the present form has never had anything to do with the territories of present-day Moldavia, including the Dnestr region. As chairman of the Bendery council of war and labor veterans, I have come up against a mass protest from elderly people for whom this combination of colors is associated with the occupying regime during World War II.

A. Bulychev: By a decision of the rural soviet we have raised and will raise the red flag on the central plot. That is what people have decided.

Correspondent: That is, as the "Vremya" program stated recently, dual power has been created in the Dnestr region?

A. Morozov: No, that is not true. There is no dual power. The coordination council for the region's socioeconomic development—that does exist. And it will defend people against Kishinev's economic tyranny, against economic chaos during the introduction of the market economy. Its functions are to help various rayons and cities to collaborate and to coordinate economic ties. As for political questions, here we adhere to the practice of civil disobedience.

Correspondent: But the congress did not bypass political questions.

A. Morozov: Yes, of course, the congress also examined questions for the long term. It was recommended to the rayons and cities that they hold a referendum on the possibility of creating an autonomous formation in the Dnestr region. Where necessary. And this need could arise. The leaders of the People's Front are openly speaking of a possible confederation with Romania, of the option of creating their own state of Moldova....

Correspondent: And you people's deputies could defend your voters under these conditions?

O. Zapolskiy: The congress we have held and some organizational work—these are forms of the defense of the voters' interests that are accessible to us. How did the Moldova Supreme Soviet react to this? It immediately deemed it illegal, almost extremist. And now we have been told that "the prosecutor's office will deal with the initiators of the congress and with the newspapers DNESTROVSKAYA PRAVDA and POBEDA."

A. Bulychev: As you know, the Supreme Soviet has adopted a law whereby you can receive 10 years in prison for merely discussing, as my fellow villagers have done, the question of whether or not to raise the "tricolor" on the central plot.

A. Morozov: All in all, deputies in Moldavia today are unable to defend not only their voters but even themselves. That is a fact.

Correspondent: Is that why you left the building of the republic's Supreme Soviet 22 May?

A. Morozov: I want to recall that on that day groups of well organized and trained thugs actually stormed the building where the Supreme Soviet session was taking place. Only a special troops subunit succeeded in expelling the hooligans. And then what, what measures were taken against the attackers? What political assessment was given of this unprecedented incident by the Supreme Soviet session and the republic's government? No measures were taken and no assessments given. That is why the entire "Soviet Moldavia" deputies' group—and there are about 130 of them—refused to take part in the further work of the Supreme Soviet.

Correspondent: Nonetheless a compromise solution must be sought. How do you see it?

O. Zapolskiy: Of course a compromise is needed. But we are put on guard by the reaction of the Supreme Soviet to our departure—it was deemed to have been unmotivated. And that was an end to it. Not a single attempt somehow to find a common language. After all it is not merely a case of personal safety but also of the opportunity for national minorities to share the parliamentary rostrum equally with representatives of indigenous nationality. Otherwise, with the diktat of the majority that now reigns at the republic's Supreme Soviet session, the presence in parliament of people's deputies from the national minorities is pointless.

B. Akulov: We are prepared for dialogue as we are in general prepared to live in peace and friendship with all in the future, as we used to live. After all, the Moldavian people are a remarkable people, very industrious, friendly, open, and sincere. And I think that were it not for individual power-loving leaders of the National Front, the so-called "Dnestr region problem" would not exist. Today it can still be resolved at the conference table. And we are prepared to be the first to take a step toward this "table."

Evacuations From Gomel Region Continue

PM2106142290 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 19 Jun 90 Second Edition p 6

[Report from PRAVDA-TASS column under the rubric "News in One Paragraph": "Gomel"]

[Text] The second stage of evacuation from the affected zone has begun in the Gomel region. The majority of people have found shelter in Belorussian villages. But not everyone has managed to find work and housing to suit them. And it cannot be denied that in some places preference was given to agricultural machine operators and stockmen. What about the medics, teachers, cultural workers, and many others? It did not prove possible to

settle them all together in the new locations, as villages. And here the Russian countryside came to their assistance in good time, responding as always to the troubles of others. The Orel region gave them shelter.

Caucasus

Gunfire Reported Along Armenian Border

NC2206084390 Baku Domestic Service in Azeri 1730 GMT 20 Jun 90

[Text] Gunfire has been heard again in Kazakhskiy Rayon's areas which border the Armenian Soviet Socialist Republic. Armenian extremists fired on the Chevrimli town with automatic arms yesterday and on Barkhudarly town the day before yesterday.

The employees of the operations group of the USSR Internal Affairs Ministry troops were able to establish law and order and calm the residents of Chevrimli and Barkhudarly towns. Thanks to their high level of professionalism and skill, no one was killed.

Considering the possibility of new attacks on the Baganis Ayrum town by the bandits, the rayon Internal Affairs Department has established a [word indistinct] detachment in that town. The detachment will perform guard duties together in cooperation with the militia workers and the internal troops. Houses were set on fire in Baganis Ayrum, and armed Armenians killed elderly people, women, and a child during the last few days of March.

According to the information an AZERINFORM correspondent has received from Bayramov, deputy chief of the Kazakhskiy Rayon Internal Affairs Department, every opportunity will be created for the residents of the troubled town of Baganis Ayrum to return to their own homes, that is after their homes are repaired and restored. Meanwhile, new houses and production centers are being constructed in the town.

Armenian Army Official Views Draft Suspension

NC2605121590 Yerevan Domestic Service in Armenian 1630 GMT 22 May 90

[Interview with Eduard Gevorgyan, head of the Political Department of the Armenian republic's Military Commissariat, by Yerevan radio correspondent Ayda Movsisyan; place and date not given—recorded]

[Text] [Movsisyan] Since the day of the formation of the USSR, the Armenian republic has consistently fulfilled its responsibilities, including those in the sphere of defense of the USSR. Despite this, for the last two years the governing bodies of the USSR have been pursuing a policy clearly incompatible with the legal interests of the Armenian people, which has also resulted in the open display of oppression and national discrimination against Armenian servicemen in the Soviet Army. Their honor, dignity, and security are not ensured in the Army units. This has caused disillusionment, concern, and enormous distress among the people. Parents are refusing to send their sons to the Army, particularly outside the republic.

On 3 May the republic's Supreme Soviet Presidium met and decided to temporarily suspend spring conscription. It created a parliamentary commission to study the matter. After two meetings, the commission concluded that no draftee should leave Armenia.

However, the people are complaining that despite the decision, call-up notices are still being received. Why is this so?

Eduard Gevorgyan, head of the Political Department of the republic's Military Commissariat, said that it is not possible to house all of them in Armenia; only 1,000 to 1,500 servicemen could be placed in the Army units in Armenia. The draftees' parents are not opposed to their sons serving in Georgia. Comrade Gevorgyan said:

[Gevorgyan] We are waiting to see what decision will be taken in Moscow. For the time being, no Armenian draftee has left Armenia. All those protests, and [words indistinct] do not reflect reality. [passage indistinct]

[Movsisyan] The protests of the parents are justified because the servicemen deserted their units because of the clashes, beatings, and murders committed on interethnic grounds. Our boys, true to their patriotic and internationalist duties, are watchfully defending their people and the peace of their country. Yet the leadership of the Soviet Union and Soviet Army is not ensuring their security.

[Gevorgyan] It is a complex problem. We are sending our sons to the Army while on the other hand the parents are complaining that various incidents on interethnic grounds (?are taking place) in the Army resulting in casualties. We do not deny that such things have taken place. However, one cannot claim that all these incidents have taken place on interethnic grounds. We have proposed the creation of small groups made up of various women's organizations who could go to various localities and see how the Armenian draftees are carrying out their duties. A few hundred Armenian servicemen have taken refuge here saying that the Muslims are beating up the Armenian servicemen. Therefore, we now have nearly 500 servicemen who have deserted their units for various reasons. Some of them escaped in January when the Baku incidents started and came here saying that they wanted to defend the borders of Armenia.

[Movsisyan] Let's assume that it will not be possible to keep all of them in the republic and some of them are sent to Georgia. Will there then be any guarantee for their security? After all, there could be Muslims there too.

[Gevorgyan] We have raised this problem and have requested that as much as possible the Armenians and Muslims—Azerbaijanis—should not be included in the

same regiment and instead should serve in different places. (?We have already been informed by Moscow) that a directive has been sent to the commanders of all the units to separate them. (?We have had only two cases of killings on interethnic grounds). (?Yet), Khachik Stamboltsyan gives other figures. [passage indistinct] Now the conscription (?is not taking place) and we are waiting for a decision, a reply, from Moscow. I think that they might increase the number of servicemen to be (?employed) in Armenia and Georgia (?for the building of a railway) [words indistinct]. We have requested that the representatives of Moscow study this problem as well [words indistinct].

Armenian Decree on Presidency Published

90US1046B Yerevan KOMMUNIST in Russian 27 May 90 pp 1

[Decree of the Armenian SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium on the Commission of the Armenian SSR Supreme Soviet in Connection With the Establishment of the Office of President of the Armenian SSR]

[Text] In execution of the commission of the special Armenian SSR [Soviet Socialist Republic] Supreme Soviet 12th Session in connection with the establishment of the office of president of the Armenian SSR, the Armenian SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium resolves:

1. To note that the bills "Establishment of the Office of President of the Armenian SSR and Alterations and Additions to the Armenian SSR Constitution (Basic Law)" and "Election of the President of the Armenian SSR" have been drawn up in the Armenian SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium with the enlistment of specialists.

2. Considering the importance of the issue, to publish the said bills within 10 days in the republic press for public discussion. Within a month following publication of the bills to collate the proposals and observations received in the course of the public discussion and, following additional work, to present them for examination by the Armenian SSR Supreme Soviet.

[Signed]G. Voskanyan, chairman of the Armenian SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium.
N. Stepanyan, secretary of the Armenian SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium.
Yerevan, 14 May 1990.

Armenian Draft Law on Presidency Published

90US1046A Yerevan KOMMUNIST in Russian 27 May 90 p 1, 4

[Draft law of the Armenian SSR on the establishment of the office of president of the Armenian SSR and alterations and additions to the Armenian SSR Constitution (Basic Law)]

[Text] For the purpose of catering for further intensification of the political transformations in the republic, consolidation of the constitutional system and the rights, liberties, and security of the citizens and improvement of the interaction of the highest organs of state power and administration of the Armenian SSR [Soviet Socialist Republic], the Armenian SSR Supreme Soviet resolves:

I. To establish the office of president of the Armenian SSR.

II. To make to the Armenian SSR Constitution (Basic Law) the following alterations and additions:

1. To have Articles 6, 7, and 49 read as follows:

"Article 6. The Armenian Communist Party and other political parties and also the trade union, youth, and other public organizations and mass movements participate through their representatives elected to the soviets of people's deputies and in other forms in the formulation of the policy of the republic and the administration of state and public affairs.

"Article 7. Exercising the functions stipulated by their programs and rules, all political parties, public organizations, and mass movements operate within the framework of the USSR Constitution, the Armenian SSR Constitution, and the laws of the USSR and the Armenian SSR.

"The creation and activity of parties, organizations, and movements whose purpose is a forcible change in the constitutional system of the republic and the integrity of the socialist state, the undermining of its security and the igniting of social, national, and religious discord are not permitted."

"Article 49. Citizens of the Armenian SSR have the right to associate in political parties and public organizations and participate in mass movements which contribute to the development of political activity and initiative and satisfaction of their diverse interests.

"Public organizations are guaranteed conditions for their successful accomplishment of their statutory assignments."

2. To supplement the Armenian SSR Constitution with the new Chapter 12(1) of the following content:

"Chapter 12(1). President of the Armenian SSR

"Article 115. The head of the Armenian SSR is the president of Armenian SSR.

"Article 115(1). A citizen of the Armenian SSR who is at least 35 years of age and not more than 65 years of age may be elected president of Armenian SSR. One and the same person may not be president of the Armenian SSR for more than two terms in succession.

"The president of the Armenian SSR is elected by citizens of the Armenian SSR on the basis of universal, equal, and direct suffrage, given a secret ballot, for a five-year term. The number of candidates for the office of president of Armenian SSR is not limited. Elections of

the president of the Armenian SSR are deemed valid if no less than 50 percent of the electorate has taken part in them. A candidate who has obtained more than half the vote of those who took part in the ballot is deemed to have been elected.

"The procedure of the election of president of the Armenian SSR is determined by Armenian SSR law.

"The president of the Armenian SSR may not be a people's deputy of the Armenian SSR or people's deputy of a local soviet of people's deputies of the Armenian SSR.

"The person who is president of the Armenian SSR may receive wages only in respect of this office.

"Article 115(2). Upon his assumption of office, the president of the Armenian SSR takes the oath at a sitting of the Armenian SSR Supreme Soviet.

"Article 115(3). The president of the Armenian SSR:

"1) is the guarantor of observance of Soviet citizens' rights and liberties on the territory of the republic, the Armenian SSR Constitution, and the laws of the Armenian SSR;

"2) adopts the necessary measures to protect the sovereignty, security, and territorial integrity of the Armenian SSR and realize decisions pertaining to issues of national-state arrangement within the jurisdiction of the Armenian SSR;

"3) represents the Armenian SSR within the country and in international relations;

"4) ensures the interaction of the highest organs of state power and administration of the Armenian SSR;

"5) presents to the Armenian SSR Supreme Soviet annual reports on the state of the republic and measures pertaining to its defense and the safety of the citizens; and notifies the Armenian SSR Supreme Soviet of important questions of domestic and foreign policy of the Armenian SSR and its participation in the assurance of the defense capability and security of the USSR;

"6) introduces to the Armenian SSR Supreme Soviet candidates for the offices of chairman of the Armenian SSR Council of Ministers, chairman of the Armenian SSR People's Control Committee, chairman of the Armenian SSR Supreme Court, and chief state arbiter of the Armenian SSR; and makes representations to the Armenian SSR Supreme Soviet on the said officials, except for the chairman of the Armenian SSR Supreme Court, being relieved of office;

"7) puts before the Armenian SSR Supreme Soviet the question of the resignation or acceptance of the resignation of the Armenian SSR Council of Ministers; and, in concordance with the chairman of the Armenian SSR Council of Ministers, relieves of office and appoints members of the government of the Armenian SSR with subsequent presentation for approval by the Armenian SSR Supreme Soviet;

"8) signs laws of the Armenian SSR; has the right within a period of no more than two weeks to return a law with his objections to the Armenian SSR Supreme Soviet for further discussion and a second vote. If by two-thirds majority the Armenian SSR Supreme Soviet upholds the decision it adopted earlier, the president of the Armenian SSR signs the law;

"9) has the right to suspend ordinances and regulations of the Armenian SSR Council of Ministers;

"10) confers state awards of the Armenian SSR and bestows insignia of the Armenian SSR;

"11) admits to citizenship of the Armenian SSR; decides the question of the granting of asylum; pardons citizens convicted by courts of the Armenian SSR;

"12) negotiates and signs international treaties of the Armenian SSR; receives the credentials of and letters of recall concerning diplomatic representatives of foreign states accredited to it; appoints and recalls diplomatic representatives of the Armenian SSR in foreign states and at international organizations;

"13) in the interests of defense of the USSR and the Armenian SSR and the safety of the citizens declares on his own initiative or as proposed by the president of the USSR martial law or a state of emergency throughout the republic or in individual localities thereof;

"14) decides other questions within his jurisdiction as determined by legislative enactments of the Armenian SSR.

"Article 115(4). There operates under the auspices of the president of the Armenian SSR an Armenian SSR Presidential Council, whose job is the formulation of measures pertaining to realization of the basic directions of domestic and foreign policy of the Armenian SSR and assurance of the security of the republic and its citizens.

"Members of the Armenian SSR Presidential Council are appointed by the president of the Armenian SSR. The chairman of the Armenian SSR Council of Ministers is an ex officio member of the Armenian SSR Presidential Council.

"The chairman of the Armenian SSR Supreme Soviet has a right to participate in sittings of the Armenian SSR Presidential Council.

"Article 115(5). On the basis and in execution of the Armenian SSR Constitution and laws of the Armenian SSR the president of the Armenian SSR issues edicts which are binding throughout republic territory.

"Article 115(6). The president of the Armenian SSR has immunity and may be replaced only by the Armenian SSR Supreme Soviet in the event of his having violated

the Armenian SSR Constitution and laws of the Armenian SSR. Such a decision is adopted by no less than two-thirds vote of the total number of people's deputies of the Armenian SSR at the initiative of the Armenian SSR Supreme Soviet with regard for the findings of the Armenian SSR Constitutional Oversight Committee.

"Article 115(7). The president of the Armenian SSR may hand over his duties stipulated by Clauses 10 and 12 of Article 115(3) to the chairman of the Armenian SSR Supreme Soviet and the chairman of the Armenian SSR Council of Ministers, and the duties stipulated by Clause 11 of Article 115(3), to the chairman of the Armenian SSR Supreme Soviet.

"Article 115(8). If for this reason or the other the president of the Armenian SSR can no longer carry out his duties, his authority is transferred up to the election of a new president of the Armenian SSR to the chairman of the Armenian SSR Supreme Soviet, and if this is not possible, to the chairman of the Armenian SSR Council of Ministers. The election of the new president of the Armenian SSR here must be conducted within a period of three months."

3. In connection with the addition to the Armenian SSR Constitution of Chapter 12(1) "President of the Armenian SSR" to make the following alterations and additions to the following articles of the Armenian SSR Constitution:

1) to have Part 1 of Article 73 read:

"The Armenian SSR participates in the solution of questions within the jurisdiction of the USSR, at the Congress of USSR People's Deputies and in the USSR Supreme Soviet, USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, the USSR Council of the Federation and Government and other authorities of the USSR";

2) in Article 98:

to have Clauses 9, 15, and 24 of Part 3 read:

"9) exercises legislative regulation of the procedure of realization of citizens' constitutional rights, liberties, and duties, property relations, organization of control of the national economy and general amenity construction, the budget and financial system, pay and pricing, taxation, environmental protection, and the utilization of natural resources, and also other relations";

"15) elects the Armenian SSR Constitutional Oversight Committee according to a representation of the chairman of the Armenian SSR Supreme Soviet";

"24) has the right to rescind ordinances and regulations of the Armenian SSR Council of Ministers";

to exclude Part 5;

3) in Article 101:

to have Parts 1 and 2 read as follows:

"The sessions of the Armenian SSR Supreme Soviet—spring and fall—are convened by the chairman of the Armenian SSR Supreme Soviet.

"Special sessions are convened by the chairman of the Armenian SSR Supreme Soviet on his initiative or in accordance with a proposal of the president of the Armenian SSR or no less than one- third of the people's deputies of the Armenian SSR";

4) to have Articles 102, 104, and 105 read:

"Article 102. The right of legislative initiative in the Armenian SSR Supreme Soviet belongs to people's deputies of the Armenian SSR, the chairman of the Armenian SSR Supreme Soviet, standing commissions of the Armenian SSR Supreme Soviet, the president of the Armenian SSR, the Armenian SSR Council of Ministers, the Armenian SSR Constitutional Oversight Committee, the Armenian SSR People's Control Committee, the Armenian SSR Supreme Court, the Armenian SSR prosecutor, and the chief state arbitrator of the Armenian SSR.

"Public organizations in the person of their republic authorities and the Armenian SSR Academy of Sciences have the right of legislative initiative also";

"Article 104. An Armenian SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium headed by the chairman of the Armenian SSR Supreme Soviet is formed for organization of the work of the Armenian SSR Supreme Soviet. The Armenian SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium incorporates ex officio the first deputy and deputy chairmen of the Armenian SSR Supreme Soviet and the chairman of the Armenian SSR Supreme Soviet standing commissions.

"Upon the expiration of the term of authority of the Armenian SSR Supreme Soviet the Armenian SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium retains its authority until the formation of a new presidium.

"Article 105. The Armenian SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium:

"1) undertakes preparation of Armenian SSR Supreme Soviet sessions;

"2) coordinates the activity of the standing and other commissions of the Armenian SSR Supreme Soviet;

"3) assists people's deputies of the Armenian SSR in their exercise of their authority and provides them with the necessary information;

"4) organizes the preparation and realization of public ballots (referendums) and also public discussion of draft laws of the Armenian SSR and other most important questions of the republic's state life;

"5) from the ranks of people's judges of rayon (municipal) people's courts approves the chairmen of these courts;

"6) provides for the publication in Armenian and Russian and, in certain cases, also in other languages employed by the population of the republic of the texts of laws of the Armenian SSR and other enactments adopted by the Armenian SSR Supreme Soviet, the chairman of the Armenian SSR Supreme Soviet, the president of the Armenian SSR, and the Armenian SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium";

5) to exclude Article 106;

6) to deem Article 107 to be Article 106 and have it read as follows:

"Article 106. The chairman of the Armenian SSR Supreme Soviet is elected by the Armenian SSR Supreme Soviet from the ranks of people's deputies of the Armenian SSR by secret ballot for a five- year term and for no more than two terms in succession.

"The chairman of the Armenian SSR Supreme Soviet is accountable to the Armenian SSR Supreme Soviet.

"The chairman of the Armenian SSR Supreme Soviet presents to the Armenian SSR Supreme Soviet candidates from the ranks of people's deputies of the Armenian SSR for election to the offices of first deputy and deputy chairmen of the Armenian SSR Supreme Soviet.

"The first deputy and deputy chairmen of the Armenian SSR Supreme Soviet, as authorized by the chairman of the Armenian SSR Supreme Soviet, exercise certain of his functions and substitute for the chairman in the event of his absence or it not being possible for him to perform his duties.

"The chairman of the Armenian SSR Supreme Soviet and his first deputy and deputy may at any time by way of secret ballot be recalled by the Armenian SSR Supreme Soviet.

"The chairman of the Armenian SSR Supreme Soviet issues decrees on the convening of sessions of the Armenian SSR Supreme Soviet and signs enactments adopted by the Armenian SSR Supreme Soviet, except for laws of the Armenian SSR and enactments of the Armenian SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium. On other questions the chairman of the Armenian SSR Supreme Soviet issues regulations";

7) to exclude Article 108;

8) to consider Articles 109 and 110 as Articles 107 and 108 respectively;

9) to consider Article 111 as Article 109 and have it read in the form of two articles as follows:

"Article 109. The people's deputy of the Armenian SSR has the right at sessions of the Armenian SSR Supreme Soviet to address an inquiry to the president of the Armenian SSR, the Armenian SSR Council of Ministers, and the leaders of other bodies formed or elected by the Armenian SSR Supreme Soviet, and also to the leaders of enterprises, establishments, and organizations of Union jurisdiction located on the territory of the Armenian SSR on matters within the province of the Armenian SSR. The body or official to whom the inquiry is addressed is obliged to provide a verbal or written answer at the said session of the Armenian SSR Supreme Soviet within the time determined by the Armenian SSR Supreme Soviet.

"Article 110. People's deputies of the Armenian SSR have the right to exemption from the performance of production or office duties for the period of time necessary for the exercise of deputy's activity in the Armenian SSR Supreme Soviet and its commissions and also among the population.

"The people's deputy of the Armenian SSR and candidate for people's deputy may not have criminal proceedings instituted against him, be arrested, or be subjected to measures of administrative punishment imposed in legal form without the consent of the Armenian SSR Supreme Soviet;"

10) to consider Articles 112 and 113 as Articles 111 and 112 respectively;

11) to have Clauses 2, 3, 4, and 5 of Article 112 read as follows:

"2) in accordance with the proposals of no less than one-third of people's deputies of the Armenian SSR and the president of the Armenian SSR, presents to the Armenian SSR Supreme Soviet findings concerning the conformity to the Armenian SSR Constitution of laws of the Armenian SSR and other enactments adopted by the Armenian SSR Supreme Soviet.

"At the behest of the Armenian SSR Supreme Soviet furnishes findings concerning the conformity to the Armenian SSR Constitution and the laws of the Armenian SSR of edicts of the president of the Armenian SSR;

"3) at the behest of the Armenian SSR Supreme Soviet and in accordance with the proposals of the president of the Armenian SSR and the chairman of the Armenian SSR Supreme Soviet, presents to the Armenian SSR Supreme Soviet findings concerning the conformity to the Armenian SSR Constitution and the laws of the Armenian SSR of the decisions of rayon and city (cities of republic jurisdiction) soviets of people's deputies;

"4) at the behest of the Armenian SSR Supreme Soviet and in accordance with the proposals of no less than one-third of people's deputies of the Armenian SSR and the president of the Armenian SSR, presents to the Armenian SSR Supreme Soviet or the president of the Armenian SSR findings concerning the conformity of enactments of the Armenian SSR Supreme Soviet, and of ordinances and regulations of the Armenian SSR Council of Ministers also, to laws of the Armenian SSR; and on the conformity of international treaty and other commitments of the Armenian SSR to the Armenian SSR Constitution and laws of the Armenian SSR;

"5) at the behest of the Armenian SSR Supreme Soviet and in accordance with the proposals of the president of the Armenian SSR, the chairman of the Armenian SSR Supreme Soviet, the standing commissions of the Armenian SSR Supreme Soviet, the Armenian SSR Council of Ministers, the rayon and city (cities of republic jurisdiction) soviets of people's deputies of the Armenian SSR, the Armenian SSR People's Control Committee, the Armenian SSR Supreme Court, the Armenian SSR prosecutor, the chief state arbitrator of the Armenian SSR, republic bodies of public organizations, and the Armenian SSR Academy of Sciences, furnishes findings concerning the conformity to the Armenian SSR Constitution and the laws of the Armenian SSR of enforceable legal enactments of other state authorities and public organizations in respect of which, in accordance with the Armenian SSR Constitution, legality inspection by the procuracy is not exercised";

12) to consider Article 114 as Article 113 and have it read as follows:

"Article 113. The Armenian SSR Supreme Soviet exercises supervision of all state authorities which are accountable to it.

"The Armenian SSR Supreme Soviet and the president of the Armenian SSR direct the activity of the Armenian SSR People's Control Committee;"

13) to consider Article 115 as Article 114;

14) to have Parts 3 and 4 of Article 118 read as follows:

"Not less than once a year the Armenian SSR Council of Ministers renders account of its work to the Armenian SSR Supreme Soviet and regularly notifies the president of the Armenian SSR of its activity.

"The Armenian SSR Supreme Soviet may on its own initiative or in accordance with a proposal of the president of the Armenian SSR express no confidence in the Armenian SSR Government, which entails its resignation. A decree on this issue is adopted by the majority vote of no less than two-thirds of the total number of people's deputies of the Armenian SSR";

15) in Article 119:

to have Part 1 read:

"The Armenian SSR Council of Ministers is competent to decide all questions of state administration within the jurisdiction of the Armenian SSR insofar as they are not, in accordance with the Armenian SSR Constitution, within the province of the Armenian SSR Supreme Soviet and the president of the Armenian SSR";

in Part 2:

to have Clause 3 read as follows:

"3) implements measures to secure the citizens' rights and liberties, defend the interests of the republic, and protect property and public order";

in Clause 5 to substitute for the words "exercises leadership" the words "implements measures";

to exclude from Clause 6 the words "pertaining to matters of economic and general amenity building";

16) to have Article 121 read as follows:

"Article 121. On the basis and in execution of laws of the USSR and the Armenian SSR and other decisions of the Congress of USSR People's Deputies, the USSR Supreme Soviet, and the Armenian SSR Supreme Soviet, edicts of the president of the USSR and the president of the Armenian SSR, and ordinances and regulations of the USSR Council of Ministers, issues ordinances and regulations and organizes and verifies their fulfillment. The ordinances and regulations of the Armenian SSR Council of Ministers are binding throughout the territory of the Armenian SSR;"

17) to have Part 4 of Article 123 read as follows:

"Ministries and state committees of the Armenian SSR are responsible for the state and development of the spheres of administration entrusted to them; within the limits of their competence they issue enactments on the basis and in execution of laws of the USSR and the Armenian SSR and other decisions of the Congress of USSR People's Deputies, the USSR Supreme Soviet and the Armenian SSR Supreme Soviet, edicts of the president of the USSR and the president of the Armenian SSR, ordinances and regulations of the USSR Council of Ministers and the Armenian SSR Council of Ministers, and enactments of the corresponding ministries and state committees of the USSR; and organize and verify their fulfillment";

18) to have Article 168 read as follows:

"Article 168. The national anthem of the Armenian SSR is approved by the Armenian SSR Supreme Soviet."

III. To approve the following wording of the oath of office of the president of the Armenian SSR:

"Assuming the office of president of the Armenian SSR, I solemnly swear to loyally serve the people of our republic, guarantee the citizens' rights and liberties, abide strictly by the Constitution of the Armenian SSR, and conscientiously perform the high duties of president of the Armenian SSR entrusted to me."

IV. To implement this law as of its enactment.

Azerbaijani President Reviews Moscow Talks

90US1037A Baku BAKINSKIY RABOCHIY in Russian 26 May 90 p 1

[Report on interview with A.N. Mutalibov, president of the Azerbaijan SSR, by unidentified AZERINFORM correspondent: "En Route Toward Real Sovereignty"]

[Text] **A.N. Mutalibov, president of the Azerbaijan SSR [Soviet Socialist Republic], was in Moscow 22-24 May.**

He took part in a joint session of the Council of the Federation and the Presidential Council of the USSR and also in a sitting of the USSR Supreme Soviet session.

Upon his return to Baku the president of the republic held an operational meeting on 25 May at which he gave detailed information on his meetings and conversations with the country's leadership. A wide range of questions concerning the social and political and socioeconomic life of the republic was examined also.

An AZERINFORM correspondent asked A.N. Mutalibov to describe the purposes and tasks of his trip to Moscow.

"It was the first time that I had taken part in the work of the Council of the Federation and the Presidential Council of the USSR," A.N. Mutalibov said. "I would like to note that the discussion was held in a businesslike, constructive, and at the same time democratic atmosphere and was distinguished by the broadness of the approaches and a diversity of opinions. After all, the question on the agenda will be of pivotal significance for the fate of our country, each republic and, I would say, socialism. As you know, it was a question of the amplified concept of transition to a controlled market economy which had been presented by the Soviet Government. It was represented sufficiently fully in N.I. Ryzhkov's report at the Third Session of the USSR Supreme Soviet and, I believe, has left no Soviet individual indifferent. It is merely to be added, perhaps, that the participants in the discussion were of the common opinion that the transition to market relations is essential and that it is dictated by reality itself. It is extremely important here to strictly observe social safeguards, particularly in respect of the needy strata of the population. It was emphasized at the session that the planned restructuring of the economy is possible only given public concord on this fundamental issue."

[AZERINFORM] Ayaz Niyazovich, what problems, in your view, will confront Azerbaijan's national economy in connection with the transition to market relations? How will the interests of the market tie in with the economic sovereignty to which our republic aspires?

[Mutalibov] These questions are interrelated. The market means, after all, economic self-sufficiency, financial independence, enterprise and freedom of choice of economic partners and trade exchange. Of course, many serious problems will arise in the transition period, particularly at the beginning. Both problems common to the whole country and those which are specific to each region. Under the conditions of the market and strict competition, say, many enterprises will be forced to cut the number of employees in order to survive. Under the conditions of a surplus of unengaged labor resources in our republic additional complications threaten. And it is no accident that M.S. Gorbachev has emphasized that this question should be put under special supervision by the state.

Transition to the market will afford many and new opportunities for the development of the republic's economy, and adroit use will need to be made of them. Specifically, the extensive attraction of foreign capital is a vitally important task. It seems to me that we need a national program, which would anticipate favorable conditions for the activity of foreign companies.

While in Moscow we specifically discussed with N.I. Ryzhkov the question of transfer of a license to supply foreign companies with 500,000 tons of scrap metal, which would bring approximately $50 million into the republic. This would be quite a substantial currency addition, particularly for the solution of the problem of refugees, acquisition of prefabricated housing for them and so forth.

The question concerning use of the oil reserves on Apsheron was examined. The chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers instructed Soviet specialists leaving for the United States to conduct negotiations for the purpose of studying the possibilities of enlisting American companies in the development of the oil deposits on Apsheron with the aid of the latest secondary and tertiary methods. This also promises an additional influx of currency, which could be channeled into the solution of Baku's accumulated social problems, the recultivation of Apsheron land and the recovery of the environment. We will involve ourselves in this problem actively and keep the public informed.

The guaranteed conditions for foreign investments which the market will afford will make it possible to sharply extend the framework of international economic cooperation. Specifically, the handing over of vacant production space for the creation of joint ventures would seem promising. Thus, Turkish businessmen who visited the republic recently were interested in the possibility of locating in Gyandzha, on the site of an auto works which is under construction, an enterprise of theirs to assemble motor vehicles on the basis of the Renault company. We intend to continue to step up work in this direction as an important channel of replenishment of the republic's currency funds.

Many problems have accumulated in Azerbaijan's economy. And I would like once more to state with all certainty that their solution at this complex stage and the arterial development of our economy are inconceivable without profound integration with the economy of the federation and a wide-ranging move toward direct international economic relations. This is dictated by the transition to market relations also.

The businesslike, commercial approach will require accelerated training of the personnel of the new formation for work under the conditions of the market and enterprise. The specific task in the immediate future is to find currency resources for training young specialists from Azerbaijan in the best centers of management and business overseas.

[AZERINFORM] Were questions of the normalization of the situation in the NKAO [Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast] and a strengthening of the security of the republic's borders raised during the meetings and consultations in Moscow?

[Mutalibov] They were, and at the highest level. In this connection I had a series of meetings with members of the Presidential Council, specifically A.N. Yakovlev, D.T. Yazov, V.V. Bakatin and G.I. Revenko, and also with leaders of the Supreme Soviet and the Government of the Union. They were anticipated by instructions from the president of the USSR. I called M.S. Gorbachev's attention to the anxiety of the republic's community in connection with the incessant terrorist operations on Azerbaijan's border on the part of illegal armed Armenian formations. Their continued impunity is fraught with the danger of new complications and an escalation of the violence. The immediate disarmament of these militarized squads is the primary condition for normalization of the situation in the region.

It has to be said that a decision was made in respect of the outcome of the meeting with the USSR minister of internal affairs on additional measures to strengthen the republic's border and ensure the security of the population.

One further important step was taken in the matter of restoring the Azerbaijan SSR's sovereignty in the NKAO. N.I. Ryzhkov signed an ordinance canceling the not-unknown USSR Council of Ministers ordinance of 6 May 1989. Thus, enterprises of the autonomous oblast have been returned to the economic structure of Azerbaijan with all the legal and economic conclusions ensuing therefrom.

As you can see, both the Union Government and our republic authorities, including the NKAO Organizing Committee, are displaying consistency in the proclaimed policy of settling the problem constitutionally.

As president of the Azerbaijan SSR, I would like once again to confirm my resolve to protect the republic's territorial integrity and strengthen its sovereignty, making extensive use of all the authority accorded me.

Much difficult work lies ahead. We need to think over and implement a set of organizational and legal measures connected with the efficient functioning of presidential authority in the republic and the formation of its structures. Among the most important questions is precise delineation of the functional duties of the president and leader of the Communist Party. How organically and rapidly the new form of administration becomes a part of the state structure of the republic and the further development of national statehood will depend on all this to a large extent.

Central Asia

Central Asian Leaders Meet in Alma-Ata 22 Jun

LD2206071190 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 0410 GMT 22 Jun 90

[Excerpts] [Announcer] We have already informed you that there is a major event in Alma-Ata today: A meeting begins between the leaders of the republics of Central Asia and Kazakhstan. We now have Alma-Ala on the line, so we'll learn the details from our correspondent there, Nukesh Baimbetov. Good morning.

[Baimbetov] Good morning, and thank you. Delegations from Uzbekistan, Tajikistan, Turkmenistan, and Kirgizia have arrived in our city. They are headed by Karimov, president of the Uzbek Republic and first secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Uzbekistan; Makhkamov, chairman of the Supreme Soviet of the Tajik Soviet Socialist Republic [SSR] and first secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Tajikistan; Niyazov, chairman of the Supreme Soviet of the Turkmen SSR and first secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Turkmenia; and Masaliyev, chairman of the Supreme Soviet of the Kirgiz SSR and first secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Kirgizia. The delegations also include the chairmen of the councils of ministers of these republics and the chairmen of the Gosplan organizations.

This morning the members of the delegations, along with the leaders of the Kazakh SSR, laid flowers at the Vladimir Ilich Lenin monument, and about 40 minutes ago the meeting opened in the building housing our republic's government.

[Announcer] You'd better tell our listeners about the objective of this meeting.

[Baimbetov] Yes, you know, I don't think it is mere coincidence that the meeting is taking place in the run-up to the 28th CPSU Congress. The changes taking place in party life and the difficulties being experienced by the CPSU apply equally to the party organizations of all these republics. And so, I believe a conversation about the future of the party will be among the serious discussions. A whole package of documents will be signed on deepening and developing cooperation between the five republics. In all probability, the most important among them will be the agreement on economic, scientific-technological, and cultural cooperation between the republics of Central Asia and Kazakhstan. This agreement provides for actions to be coordinated to develop the economic independence of the republics and to implement an effective economic strategy and tactics taking their mutual interests into account.

The priority avenues for cooperation in the sphere of general economic problems and credit policy will have to be determined. In particular, the intention is to set up a regional investment bank to finance promising economic

programs. The attention of the meeting's participants will also center on questions relating to the development of a consumer market, the production of consumer goods, and the coordination of action in the sphere of external links. All of this is targetted at the creation of conditions conducive to the transition to regulated market relations. That all concerns economic problems. I should also like to mention other issues on the agenda of the meeting, such as interethnic relations, seismology, and ecology.

[Announcer] Yes, particularly since the territory of all these republics falls within a region of seismic danger. Not to mention the general ecological tragedy of the Aral.

[Baimbetov] Yes, you are quite right: The ecological disaster that has befallen the Aral and the Aral region is a heavy burden on the peoples of this region. As far as we know, the participants in the meeting have agreed to set up an interrepublican commission to coordinate the efforts to resurrect the Aral Sea. They also intend appealing to the president, the Supreme Soviet, and the USSR Council of Ministers to declare the Aral region a national disaster zone, and to draw up a state program to restore the ecological balance in the Arab region in the period up to the year 2000, with the involvement of institutions of the United Nations—UNESCO and the WHO. [passage omitted]

[Announcer] Tell me, please: How many days is this meeting expected to last?

[Baimbetov] Well, they will work very intensively all day today, and tomorrow all day, too, so that probably tomorrow—toward the evening—the meeting will end. At any rate, that's the plan. Then joint protocols will be signed, as will any joint documents that have been adopted once the viewpoints on all matters have been clarified. I should be able to tell our listeners about the outcome of this meeting in tomorrow's "Panorama" program.

Turkmenistan Law Limits Central TV Broadcasts

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[Text] [Announcer] A law according to which broadcasting of central television programes may be limited on the republic's territory has been adopted in Turkmenia. Our correspondent Anageldy Razdurdyyev reports.

[Razdurdyyev] This law adopted by the republican Supreme Soviet states: To instruct the Council of Ministers of the Turkmen Soviet Socialist Republic to develop regulations for suspending on republican territory relays of central television programs which include elements of amorality, sensuality, and brutality incompatible with the traditions and morals of the republican population. This screening time should be used, instead, for programs of Turkmen television. (Maya Aymedovna Aymedova), chairman of the Turkmen Supreme Soviet Committee for Science, Education, and Culture, commented on the reasons behind the adoption of the decision in the following way:

[Begin Aymedova recording] Several months ago cases of feuds between nationalities took place in different areas of the Soviet Union. Our republican leadership decided to convene a meeting of republican elders. Consultations were held about what should be done to ensure a peaceful and quiet life in the republic. One of the points put forward by our elders was that central television broadcasts programs which are at variance with our life, traditions, and attitudes, to the elderly and the young. [end recording]

[Razdurdyyev] It will not be easy to find a solution to the situation. Very many controversial and complex issues, including purely technical ones, are involved here. I have spoken with many people about the delicate problem, but nobody was able to explain to me clearly what specific films and programs broadcast by central television contradict local morals and customs. I think it would be more logical to carry out a special sociological study. Meanwhile, this law has not been put into effect—not because it is difficult to implement it unilaterally, but rather because the way of dialogue and a search for mutually acceptable solutions between the republic and the center is more feasible here.

[Announcer] The law seems to be good and necessary, on the whole, but apprehensions always arise in similar situations. What if political censorship were to be introduced under the pretext of concern for national traditions.

Report Discusses Work of Uzbek Supreme Soviet

LD2106110790 Tashkent Domestic Service in Russian 0115 GMT 21 Jun 90

[Excerpts] Here is an information report on the Uzbek Soviet Socialist Republic [SSR] Supreme Soviet session. The second session of the Uzbek SSR Supreme Soviet continued in Tashkent on 20 June. The second session was opened by Ibragimov, chairman of the Uzbek SSR Supreme Soviet. The reports of the secretariat on the deputies'questions, telegrams, and appeals were heard. The people's deputies of the Uzbek SSR are to discuss the scheduled agenda and will elect members of certain oblast and Tashkent city courts.

At the session a declaration on the sovereignty of the Uzbek SSR was adopted. The deputies listened to the report of Deputy Khalilov, chairman of the permanent commission for legislation, legality, and law and order on introducing changes and additions to some of the legislative acts of the Uzbek SSR and also increasing responsibility for abuse in trade and speculation. [passage omitted]

The questions of providing service and the protection of the president of the Uzbek SSR were discussed, and the deputies adopted the relevant decisions. A decision on

changing the legal status of the state committee of the Uzbek SSR for the protection of the environment was also adopted. It has been given powers over the departmental organs of management and it is now subordinated directly to the Uzbek SSR Supreme Soviet.

The people's deputies formed a constitutional commission of the Uzbek SSR. A decision on the "Address of the Kazakh SSR to the parliaments and governments of the republics of Central Asia" was adopted. The deputies returned to the discussion of the draft law on property of the Uzbek SSR. In connection with the present changes in the observations and additions, it is adopted in the first reading and forwarded for completion to the permanent commission so as to return to its approval at the following session. The people's deputies adopted a law on land in the Uzbek SSR. A decision on the publication of the KHALK SESY [PEOPLE'S VOICE] newspaper of the Uzbek SSR Supreme Soviet was adopted. The session also adopted an "Address of the Supreme Soviet of the Uzbek SSR to the president of the USSR Gorbachev, the Supreme Soviet of the USSR, which approved the decision of the USSR Supreme Soviet Committee on questions of defense and state security on the disbandment of the military and construction subdivisions in the civil ministries and departments." The people's deputies of the Uzbek SSR called on the president and the parliament of the country to speed up the realization of this decision. The deputies approved a resolution on the formation of a commission of the Uzbek SSR Supreme Soviet on defense questions and social protection of the servicemen. An address to the Supreme Soviet of the Tajik SSR on improving the ecological situation in the area around the (Tursunzade) aluminum factory was adopted. A decision was adopted on renaming the permanent commissions of the Uzbek SSR Supreme Soviet as permanent committees, in line with the constitution of the Uzbek SSR. The corresponding changes will be made. The deputies discussed other questions connected with the working of the Supreme Soviet of the Uzbek SSR. With this the second session of the Uzbek SSR Supreme Soviet of the 12th convocation ended its work.

Karimov Addresses Uzbek Communist Party Congress

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[Text] The search for paths and the determining of practical actions aimed at guaranteeing genuine political and economic sovereignty, the strengthening of the independence of the Communist Party of Uzbekistan, and the drawing up of decisions on issues of the organizational and ideological unity of the CPSU are at the center of attention of the congress of the republic's Communist Party, which opened in Tashkent today. One thousand five hundred and sixty-one delegates, who represent the more than 600,000-strong army of communists in Uzbekistan, are taking part. Karimov, the first secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Uzbekistan, read a report at the congress. Analyzing party problems in general, Uzbekistan communists are coming out in favor of strengthening party unity on the basis of the program document it is proposed to adopt at the 28th CPSU Congress on the results of the discussion of the draft platform of the CPSU, and toward a humane, democratic socialism.

The congress is continuing its work.

Uzbekistan Oblast Elects New Leader

LD2106150190 Tashkent Domestic Service in Russian 1300 GMT 21 Jun 90

[Text] At the plenum which took place in the Fergana Oblast committee of the party, organizational questions were examined. In connection with his transfer to another work, the plenum freed from duty Yuldashev, the first secretary and member of the bureau of the Fergana Oblast committee of the party. Fazylov was elected first secretary of the committee by secret ballot; previously he had been working as the chairman of the Fergana Oblast executive committee. Karimov, first secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Uzbekistan and president of the Uzbek Soviet Socialist Republic, spoke at the plenum.

Kirghiz Party Congress Dwells on 'Tragedy'

PM1906145090 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 19 Jun 90 Second Edition p 2

[Report by PRAVDA correspondent Yu. Razgulyayev: "In an Emergency Situation: Notes From the 19th Kirghiz Communist Party Congress"]

[Text] Frunze—The latest congress of Kirghizia's communists met at a tense time. A state of emergency has been imposed over the greater part of the republic's territory. Shots ring out in Osh and certain rayons. Every day the number of dead and wounded grows. A region once proud of its tranquillity is in the grip of a wave of cruel interethnic clashes.

The newspapers have already reported this, and pictures of the pogroms have been shown on television. All the same, it was impossible to listen calmly to the speeches by U. Sadikova, chairman of the "Tashirov" kolkhoz [collective farms] in Kara-Suyskiy Rayon, and M. Abakzhanov, chairman of Uzgen Gorispolkom [city soviet executive committee]. The inhabitants of these areas have come up against an unbridled wage of hooliganism and extremism. But there was probably not a single speech at the congress that did not touch in one way or another on the tragedy that has shaken the republic.

"How did it come about," A. Mirzamatov, molder at the Osh No. 1 Ferroconcrete Products Plant, asked from the platform, "that we communists could not prevent these fratricidal clashes? Why did all our ideological, patriotic, and international work prove to be nothing but empty words?"

Naturally, not only the congress delegates were waiting for an answer to these questions. The entire republic was waiting, watching the congress by a direct television relay. In the Central Committee report, which was delivered by First Secretary A. Masaliyev, an attempt was apparently made to justify these expectations. The report began by analyzing the Osh events. The reasons? "Yielding to emotion and spurred on by the ambitions of extremist elements, groups of young people staged disturbances." These words from the report met with a mixed reception from delegates. There were, of course, both extremists and "informals" at the rallies. But was it only the inflammatory speeches of the "ringleaders" that led the crowds to riot in both Osh and Frunze?

The first "alarm bell" was heard last year. Back then, in May, Frunze's young people—workers and students, in despair over the housing shortage and, most importantly, the lack of any prospect of obtaining housing in future, began to occupy the land of suburban farms of their own accord. The authorities, alarmed by the first sparks of conflict and especially by the fact that it was almost exclusively Kirghiz young people who were joining the struggle for improved living conditions, yielded and gave them the land. And they calmed down.

This proved to be in vain. The following year, the conflict flared up in two places at once—in Frunze and Osh. Again they yielded, and again at the expense of the interests of other population groups. But this time the patent injustice blazed up in a bloody conflagration.

The dissatisfaction of the people of Kirghizstan at the low living standard and the grievances of certian population groups have begun increasingly frequently to break out in the form of very dangerous phenomena that we have not previously been accustomed to. And this is in the abundant Fergana and Chuyskaya Valleys. The republic has worse places, places where life is harder.

K. Ashiraliyev, first secretary of Tyan-Shanskiy Raykom [rayon party committee], said bitterly that a significant proportion of herdsmen in the mountainous Naryn zone continue to this day the unsettled nomadic life of their forebears, and every year they engage in single combat with the pitiless elements, undermining their health prematurely.

This topic sounded far more reassuring in the Central Committee report. Just like five years ago and 10 years ago, it noted "certain improvements" and "some improvements." In the period under review, for instance, the commissioning of children's preschool institutions increased 50 percent, and that of hospital beds 80 percent. That looks quite good. But it depends how you look at it. Even with these "achievements," the provision of kindergartens amounts to a mere 30 percent of the normative. Nearly 150,000 women a year give birth in the most appalling conditions, adding to the already considerable infant mortality. This was spoken of with distress and bitterness by A. Umetaliyev, herdsman at the K. Marx kolkhoz in Tonskiy Rayon; Kh. Yakubzhanov, chairman of Suzakskiy Rayispolkom [rayon soviet executive committee]; and R. Alimova, knitter at the Dzhalal-Abad comsumer services combine.

So why is the gulf so great between the assessments of the Central Committee's activity by the committee itself and by many of the congress participants? USSR People's Deputy A. Akayev, president of the republic Academy of Sciences, sees the reason for this in the complacency of the republic leadership and its lack of exactingness toward itself and the party comrades.

"Many people were lulled by that sweet word 'stability,'" he believes, "which we often used to repeat when it was a question of the political, economic, and interethnic situation in the republic."

Well, the diagnosis is unpleasant, but true. For some time in the early stages of perestroyka it is true that the republic "lagged behind" in terms of noisy rallies, sensational revelations, and cadre reshuffles. People were saying that perhaps Kirghizia had found its own "peaceful path" of perestroyka. Life, as always, proved more complex than the subtlest scenarios. Perhaps Kirghizia did indeed have a chance to steer between the reefs of radical changes in public life with fewer upheavals than other regions. All the same, the only possible lodestone was honesty, firmness of positions, and principled party assessments.

However, the republic leadership wanted so much to maintain the pleasant semblance of "stability"! So the very complex, far from harmonious discussion of the law on the state language is passed off as "complete unanimity." The timid attempts by certain "informals" to unite in a democratic movement are sharply snubbed: "There can be no people's fronts here." And the total flouting of the recently adopted Law on Land is explained in terms of the complex social and domestic conditions of young people's lives. Naturally, such attempts to play on the situation, avoid directly resolving tricky problems, and hush up the most acute questions, including interethnic questions, can hardly add to the authorities' prestige.

It was the young people who were the first to sense this.

"Do you remember the rallies in Frunze's central square?" Z. Mambetzhunushev, a student at the Kirghiz State University, asked from the congress platform. "The guys would listen to virtually none of the party workers. They do not trust them. They do not expect help and support from them."

These hot June days have taught Kirghizstan's communists many painful lessons. One of the saddest is the decline in the prestige of certain party committees and their leaders. Of course, there were also gratifying instances. At the most difficult time during the interethnic clashes, Suzakskiy Raykom and Dzhalal-Abad Gorkom [city party committee] managed to maintain order on their territory. There were kind words at the congress for the courage and resourcefulness of Zh. Turdubayev, first secretary of Naukatskiy Raykom.

But in the majority of rayons relative calm was restored only after the army and internal troops were sent in. I can understand that a communist armed only with his ideological convictions did not always have a real opportunity to oppose well equipped, organized gangs. But where did all these people prepare, meet, discuss their plans? Why did the organs of soviet power and party committees turn out in the end to be so helpless, impotent, and ill-informed?

Calls for the culprits responsible for kindling interethnic strife to be punished were made repeatedly at the congress. This must certainly be done. A large group of MVD [Ministry of Internal Affairs] and USSR Prosecutor's Office workers are now engaged in an investigation of the riots and killings and the causes of the outbreak of this bloody conflict. Even if all this is not the fault of the party committees, they are responsible for serious errors and miscalculations. What was said about this at the congress?

I am rereading the transcript of the speeches of U. Sydykov, first secretary of Osh party obkom [oblast committee], his predecessor R. Kulmatov, now deputy chairman of the Supreme Soviet, and A. Sadykov, first secretary of Osh gorkom, and I see the stereotyped words: "extremist elements," "personal ambitions," "intrigues by the informals." The leader of the Osh City party organization even found room in his speech for reproaches against the CPSU Central Committee, which, he says, permitted "the formation of a monarchist party, gatherings of noblemen, and wild, permissive outbursts by the press." Only he did not venture to analyze his own blunders. All the proposals boil down to one thing: "Punish them, do not tolerate it."

Yes, the congress delegates devoted a large part of their time to the tragic conflict. This time cannot, in my view, be regarded as wasted. Of course, it would be nice to discuss in a calm atmosphere all aspects of pure party work, especially since many problems have accumulated here too. All the same, what is the use of all this frenzied party activity if a mother loses her baby, if innocent people are killed, if the flood of refugees swells, if the fields dry up for the lack of a warm human hand!

It was noted repeatedly at the congress that the strength of any political organization is most clearly revealed in emergency situations, when it is necessary to take decisions quickly, react boldly to a changing situation, and calculate at least a few paces ahead the consequences of your actions. To say that the republic's party organizations succeeded in displaying all these qualities to the full would be to depart from the truth. The conflict was not averted, it was neutralized by force, and for the time being it is the Army that is deterring the sides from a new clash. The path to reconciliation will be very difficult, neither smooth nor straight. Leaders at all levels must, in these circumstances, show the utmost patience, wisdom, and prudence. Nonetheless this will undoubtedly not be enough. A. Akayev rightly said in his speech: "The biggest illusion today is to think that you can use the old methods of work, the old tactics, the familiar structure, to lead the republic out of this very grave situation."

Unfortunately the final day of the congress only reinforced the delegate's misgivings. Much was said in the speeches about the renewed Central Committee and the democratic means of choosing it. But when the delegates received their ballot papers once again what prevailed was the same old "pack" of nearly all the republic ministers and first secretaries of obkoms, gorkoms, and raykoms. As before, those who were left out were the secretaries of primary organizations, although there was so much talk of strengthening them from the platform.

And another detail. When the list of candidates for the Central Committee that was prepared beforehand by a special commission began to increase spontaneously on the basis of the delegates' proposals, the presidium made every effort—even agreeing to an increase in the size of the Central Committee—to ensure that the elections were not contested. And so it turned out.

...The latest congress of Kirghizia's Communists was held in an emergency situation. The tension that persists beyond the walls fo the auditorium left its stamp on the atmosphere. The discussion proved heated, nervous, not always constructive. The delegates decided to continue their work after the 28th CPSU Congress. So there is time to think and to outline, at last, a clear, realistic plan for leading the republic out of the crisis situation.

Update of Andizhan, Osh Situation Reported

PM2206092990 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 20 Jun 90 Morning Edition p 2

[Report by own correspondent A. Orlov: "Andizhan-Osh: After the Tragedy"; final paragraph is IZVESTIYA postscript]

[Text] Andizhan Oblast, Osh Oblast—There are militia and internal troop posts on the roads of Andizhan Oblast. With the introduction, on 8 June, of the state of emergency in Andizhan and five rayons bordering on Kirghizia, journeys have understandably become more complicated. But the pass from Militia Major General G. Rakhimov, commandant of the special region (that is what this territory is officially called now) helped to avoid long explanations at the cordons and to reach the border with the neighboring republic without hindrance.

"In Andizhan Oblast, where over 70,000 Kirghiz live alongside the Uzbeks, the situation has been normalized," G. Rakhimov said. "Actually, only a few days were alarming, when we succeeded in averting upheavals and the crossing of the border by large groups of people demanding that their relations and friends in Osh Oblast be protected. No one died in Andizhan Oblast."

Some results of the previous days were cited at the extraordinary session of the Andizhan party obkom

[oblast committee] bureau. It also noted the population's inadequate provision with information. Indeed, one of the main "irritants" has become the rumors—false and sometimes inflammatory, with chilling "details," for instance of the murder of 5,000 people.

This has made over 1,000 Andizhan oblast shepherds evacuate the pastures on Kirghiz territory, where Kirghiz and Uzbeks have worked together for centuries. The shepherds are now being taken back by helicopter. At Andizhan airport they told me:

"We were driven home from the mountain pastures on trucks with an escort of four armored personnel carriers. We reassured our relations and now we are returning to the flocks and herds. We are not worried about the sheep and horses—if the animals stray, our Kirghiz brothers will bring them back."

The words about brothers are by no means simply a polite form of oriental address, where it is the custom immediately to call even a stranger a brother, thus stressing human unity. The Andizhan and Osh livestock raisers in the high mountain meadows have always helped each other and have often assisted each other when sudden snowfalls have arrived or mountain torrents have seethed.

The border between the two republics is about 40 km from Andizhan. Today, only recently a strictly formal boundary, it has become an actual border. There are armored personnel carriers and soldiers and militia inspect the vehicles passing through.

"Our internal troops subunit was sent here on the night of 6-7 June," Colonel Yu. Semenov said. "And on 7 June we were in a critical situation. Nearly 10,000 people had gathered at the border. The people asked us to protect their relations in Osh Oblast. But there were also hooligans demanding that they be let through to the other side and given weapons, stretching out to reach the soldiers' submachineguns. The leaders of Uzbekistan, of party and soviet organs, and clergy came here and spent a long time talking to people. In general, the outcome was favorable... I know there are rumors that the soldiers shot into the crowd. No, we did not use weapons."

Osh is reminiscent of a frontline city after hostilities. On the streets are piles of felled trees and stones. Self-defense detachments organized by local inhabitants have started to dismantle these barricades. Armored personnel carriers and infantry combat vehicles pass by constantly.

The glass windows have been pierced by bullets in the editorial office of the oblast newspaper LENINSKIY PUT, which I visited to talk with my colleagues. One night recently there issued from the seven-floor "Inturist" hotel under construction rounds of submachinegun fire—directed at the internal affairs administration. The militia and soldiers opened fire in response. A stray round hit the editorial office building.

Militia Major General V. Goncharov, commandant of Osh Oblast and Kirghiz SSR minister of internal affairs, told me:

"The situation is now stabilizing. In Osh you saw the streets full of people and the stores operating. It is more complicated in Uzgenskiy Rayon, where many houses have been burned down. There are virtually no Kirghiz left there—they have left for the mountains. As we cross the territory we are finding the bodies of those killed 4-8 June. The question of drawing off water in the Uzgenskiy canal is being decided—there may be corpses in it."

"Many people are complaining about the militia's unjust actions and say that Kirghiz militiamen have shot at Uzbeks. What is the national composition of the oblast militia?"

"Kirghiz make up over 80 percent of the Osh Internal Affairs Administration. We have carefully checked complaints and found the vehicles with the registration numbers people have cited. We have no cases of militiamen shooting at Uzbeks."

Similarly there was no confirmation of the rumor about the beating and torture of thousands of people detained in the temporary confinement block.

I talked with agitated, anxious people who did not understand what was happening on this fertile land. Yes, the spark of hatred has been struck and the flames of misfortune have flared up. But what was the source of the tragedy which might not have happened? Surely it was no accident?

The Osh Oblast newspaper, LENIN YULI, published in Uzbek, described back on 31 May a dispute over land, or to be more precise over an injustice toward a section of the population. The newspaper directly accused the oblast soviet and party organs of "an idiosyncratic solution of problems of earmarking housing and plots for private construction."

This put the oblast leadership on guard, but no more. Even after the extraordinary session of the Osh City soviet, which rebuffed the informal organization members from the recently created "Osh Aymagi" and decreed that they should not be allocated land until the housing construction plan approved by the previous session had been fulfilled, the Osh Oblast Soviet executive committee on 3 June, disregarding the mounting tension, nonetheless allocated 350 hectares of irrigated land belonging to two state farms near the city for individual construction.

People saw that all the authorities' promises and assurances were so much empty noise. And on 4 June thousands of inhabitants gathered for a meeting: They expected answers to their questions. The authorities immediately revealed their position, obviously presenting the militia and the troops as their main argument.

Was there a tragic mistake, did someone's nerves fail them—even today it is extraordinarily difficult to judge. Each person has his own interpretation of events.

I hope the investigation will thoroughly investigate all this. In the Osh Oblast prosecutor's office I met with A. Frolov, assistant to the USSR general, with whom I have been acquainted since the Fergana events. In Osh has headed the investigation group.

"The tragedy of Osh Oblast surpasses Fergana in size and significance," Aleksandr Vasilyevich said. "There are very many dead. In Uzgen, for instance, they even killed children. I should not like to exaggerate this terrible calamity, but the situation is similar to that in Nagornyy Karabakh. After all, it is a case of two peoples for whom this land is their native land. (the oblast internal affairs administration told me that of the population of over 2 million in Osh Oblast 61 percent are Kirghiz and 26 percent Uzbeks. And in Osh itself, with a population of 200,000 Uzbeks comprise 44 percent—A.O.). We have a mass of statements about the illegality of the militia's actions but, you can understand yourself, these must be checked out. The mass disorders in the oblast will be investigated by a special group of the USSR Prosecutor's Office. Some 150 investigators from various regions of the country will arrive in the very near future.

But we can already speak of one of the reasons—the thoughtless actions of the local authorities. Thus, B. Makarov, prosecutor of the USSR Prosecutor's Office administration for supervising the execution of laws in economic activity, has compiled a conclusion recognizing as illegal the decisions on the allocation of land taken 23 May and 3 June by the Osh Oblast Soviet executive committee.

Thus the situation gradually became tense and the oblast executive committee's illegal actions were the last straw.

...As yet there is a guarded border between the two republics. And it is very important that it should become what it was before as soon as possible—a border without barriers or soldiers with submachineguns. And the main thing is that the border in people's hearts should disappear. The pain of the tragedy which has been played out and anxiety and emotions should not prevail over reason.

As INTERFAKS report 19 June, in all 186 people died in the period of mass disorders in Osh Oblast, including two militia workers and one serviceman. According to more precise facts checked with the medical institutions, 1,202 people received injuries of varying degrees of severity and of these 1,017 were admitted to hospital.